Alexander Pope's Contribution Towards the Development of the Romantic Movement

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Alexander Pope's Contribution Towards the Development of the Romantic Movement

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Introduction

The intention of this dissertation is to examine the relationship between Alexander Pope and the early manifestations of Romanticism at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well as Pope's contribution towards the development of Romanticism. We do Alexander Pope an injustice in regarding him solely as a Neo-Classicist, without taking into account that several of his literary works, as well as certain other artistic expressions, differ considerably from the Neo-Classical art theory.

Earlier literary critics have already commented upon the Romantic aspects of Pope's nature and his work, like Montagu Summers, who wrote "Alexander Pope was the one great genius of his day, and there is more romanticism in Pope than either he or his disciples would have cared to admit."[1] Commenting upon Pope's grotto at Twickenham, Summers says, "here we have a baroque romanticism no genuine Augustan could have tolerated for a moment."[2] Samuel W. Stevenson draws a further division between Pope and Classicism:

> In truth, Pope's inherent conception of the poet and poetry was, both in his youth and in his maturity, of an entirely different order from that of rigid classicism. In Pope's ideals the artist and his art were spontaneous products of nature, the artist excelled by rough and masterful strokes, neglectful of art and polished perfection; he broke through outworn forms by the strength of his genius; and he held his readers in admiring subjection by stirring their emotions.[3]

Both these authors also supply us with working definitions of Romanticism. From Stevenson's quotation the following characteristics of Romantic art can be deduced: art is a spontaneous product of Nature, achieving its excellence through the artist's imagination.

[1]Montagu Summers, The Gothic Quest (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), p. 19.

[2]Summers, p. 20.

[3]Samuel S. Stevenson, Romantic Tendencies in the Works of Dryden, Addison and Pope (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1934), p. 152.

garden, or existing ones, which were still to be found in abundance, restored. This led to a re-evaluation of medieval architectural styles, mainly because of their emotional appeal to the beholder.

At the end of this preliminary discussion the following relationship between all the aspects discussed can be established: the picturesque style of gardening, largely influenced by the new-found taste for oriental design, introduced the ruin into the English landscape, and, by way of the ruin, Gothic architecture. The abhorrence of the straight line and its replacement by the curved line increased the popularity of picturesque gardening and of Gothicism.

Chapters Two and Three discuss Pope's use of garden architecture in the 'ruinous taste' beginning with the building of the grotto underneath his villa at Twickenham and ending with the building of Alfred's Hall on Lord Bathurst's estate in Cirencester. The contemporary judgment of Alfred's Hall stating that "It is now a venerable castle, and has been taken by an antiquarian for one of King Arthur's with thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,"[8] indicates that Pope was quite successful in his application of this ruinous taste.

Chapter Four discusses the development of the Gothic style, and more precisely its public appraisal from the middle of the sixteenth century to approximately the end of the 1730s. The reasons for the condemnation of this architectural style are analysed, as well as positive reponses towards it, mainly brought about through a change in the concept of Nature, in which Pope was highly instrumental. Pope naturalised the Gothic through the mimesis theory and by attributing natural qualities to the Gothic.

Chapter Five looks at the relationship between architecture and society. It is shown in this chapter that the failure of the Augustan analogy favoured the positive response towards the Gothic. The political corruption and the dissolution of social interdependencies taking place in the first half of the eighteenth century led to an idealisation of the national past. The English medieval past was romanticised, it came to be regarded as that period in history in which 'living well' was not the exception, but the rule. This tendency also led to an in-

[8] Whitwell Elwin, Introd., The Works of Alexander Pope (London: John Murray, 1872), VIII (Correspondence III), 330.

crease in popularity of the Gothic, this being the predominant architectural style of that longed-for past.

Chapter Six is centred on Pope's architectural works and writings. This chapter commences with an analysis of the Epistle to Burlington and searches for architectural recommendations in which a Romantic or Gothic tenet is obvious. The second part of this chapter deals with Pope's villa at Twickenham and tries to find Pope's reasons for building his private dwelling in a Classical architectural style. This chapter ends with a close reading of Pope's letters describing Netley Abbey, Stanton Harcourt and Sherborne Castle, all three differing considerably in architectural style from his own villa. The main theme of these letters is the destruction of a value system on which these houses were based and Pope's effort to preserve these values for future generations. The underlying assumption being that a particular architectural style embodies certain social values. These letters indicate that Pope's Romanticism was mainly the result of his belief in a society based on social interdependence. The architectural expression of this Romanticism was found in late medieval architecture. Henry Fielding, who greatly admired Pope, described Mr. Allworthy's house as being in "the Gothic stile of Building."[9] The architectural style of a house was regarded by Fielding, and by Pope as well, as the visual expression of its owner's character. The description of Allworthy's house informs the reader that "there was an air of grandeur in it, that struck you with awe, and rival'd the beauties of the best Grecian architecture; and it was as commodious within, as venerable without."[10] This information also reveals important facts about Mr. Allworthy; his house not being of Grecian architecture implies that he himself is not a 'man of fashion'. His house is commodious, there is room for many, implying the largeness of Allworthy's heart, his great compassion for his fellow human beings. Furthermore, the house is venerable, just as Allworthy's behaviour is determined by virtue and dignity. Fielding's reasons for his preferring the Gothic style are the same as those of Pope's.

[9] Henry Fielding, Tom Jones, ed. R.P.C. Mutter (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), p.58.

[10] Fielding, p. 58.

Chapter Seven discusses the literary influences on the Gothic Revival, in which special attention is given to Spenser and Shakespeare, and in which Pope is compared with other authors who contributed to these literary influences on the Gothic Revival.

Chapter Eight examines four of Pope's literary works on Pre-Romantic aspects and tendencies. This chapter begins with a discussion on An Essay on Criticism, establishing concepts stated in the Essay which are completely at odds with the prevailing Augustan literary theory. This is followed by an analysis and interpretation of Eloisa to Abelard, Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady and Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear'to see to what extent Pope applied and realised the concepts of An Essay on Criticism to these three subsequent literary works.

Chapter One: The Beginnings of Romanticism

1. The Oriental Fashion

The English upper classes acquainted themselves with the mode of life and the art forms of the Orient through travel books at the end of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century. In 1589 Parke published The History of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China. This early account of the marvels of China was followed by Richard Hakluyt's The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nations in 1559. Included in this work were three treatises: "Certaine Reports of the mighty Kingdome of China," followed by "A Discourse of the Isle of Japan and other Isles in the East Ocean" and "An Excellent Description of the Kingdome of China and the Government thereof." Books on China and Japan continued to be published well into the 1720s, indicating the public interest in these remote countries. Most of these books

> expatiated on the fertility of China, the diversity and utility of its plants, the number of its rivers, and the prosperity of its people. They commended the social system, its age, and its stability, they extolled the Emperor's absolute power as a benevolent despotism, hailed him as 'the father of the people,' and eulogized his wisdom in giving public offices to educated mandarins who were trained for these administrative positions. They expressed their admiration for the industry of the Chinese, their politeness, their respect for the ties of family life, and their appreciation of dignity and value of learning. And at every possible opportunity they depicted the elaborately formal ceremonial customs and exotic splendour of the imperial court.[1]

The pictorial views of these written accounts of life in China could be admired on porcelain. Although shops where Chinese goods could be purchased had been established in London as early as 1609

[1] B.S. Allen, Tides in English Taste (New York: Pageant Books Inc., 1958), p. 183.

the real craze for collecting Chinese porcelain came after the ascent of the Dutch Stadtholder William III and his wife Mary to the English throne. Collecting Chinese porcelain had been a long established tradition in the Dutch Republic and was introduced into England after the Glorious Revolution:

> King William and Queen Mary introduced each of them two customs, which by the people imitating them became the idols of the town, and indeed of the whole Kingdom. The queen brought in the custom or humour, as I may call it, of furnishing houses with China ware, which increased to a strange degree afterwards, piling their china upon the tops of cabinets, and every chimney-piece, to the tops of the ceiling, and even setting up shelves for their china-ware, where they wanted such places, till it became a grievance in the expense of it, and even injurious to their families and estates.[2]

In the Spectator of April 12, 1711, the account of a visit to a country seat is given which includes a careful description of the owner's library, in which the above quoted process had become reality:

> At the end of the folios (which were finely bound and gilt) were great jars of China placed one above the other in a very noble piece of architecture. The octavos were bounded by tea dishes of all shapes, colours and sizes, which were so disposed on a wooden frame, that they looked like one continued pillar indented with the finest strokes of sculpture, and stained with the greatest varieties of dyes.
>
> That part of the library which was designed for the reception of plays on pamphlets, and other loose papers, was inclosed in a kind of square, consisting of one of the prettiest grotesque works that I ever saw, and made up of scaramouches, lions, monkies, mandarins, trees, shells, and a thousand other odd figures in china ware. In the midst of the room was a little Japan table.[3]

The owner's appreciation of chinoiseries is based upon her romantic inclination, which reveals itself in her reading taste, in the interior decoration of the house and the layout of her gardens:

> As her reading has lain very much among romances, it has given her a very particular turn of thinking, and discovers

[2] Allen, I, 175

[3] The Spectator; a new edition, corrected from the originals with a Preface by A. Chalmers (London: C. Whittingham, 1808), I, 169-170.

> itself even in her house, her gardens and her furniture. Sir Roger has entertained me an hour together with a description of her country seat, which is situated in a kind of wilderness, about a hundred miles distant from London, and looks like a little enchanted palace. The rocks about her are shaped into artificial grottos cover'd with woodbines and jessamines. The woods are cut into shady walks, twisted into bowers, and filled with cages of turtles. The springs are made to run among pebbles, and by that means taught to murmur very agreeably. They are likewise collected into a beautiful lake that is inhabited by a couple of swans, and empties itself by a little rivulet which runs through a green meadow, and is known in the family by the name of the Purling Stream.[4]

An important aspect in these quotations from the Spectator is the relationship between the interior and the exterior. The spirit of the gardens, their apparent freedom from visual boundaries and formalities, was reinforced in the interior through the objects. The painted scenes on the china ware revealed landscapes whose "Beauty shall be great but without any Order or Disposition of the Parts," as William Temple described his impression, and which were reflected in this country seat "surrounded in a kind of wilderness." The lack of restraint, one of the manifestations of Romanticism, is already apparent here. The paintings on the vases and bowls in particular exercised great influence as they showed "asymmetry, neglect of meticulously scaled proportions, ignorance of perspective and indifference of abstract design in favor of more naturalistic patterns." [5] These were alien elements which Chinese and Oriental art introduced into the Classical environment of the Englishman in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The increasing familiarity with these artistic impressions emancipated the observer from Classicism, it accustomed the eye to a freer play of line and a more irregular spacing of masses. This newly discovered art challenged the authority of Classicism, as Stalker stated in his Treatise of Japaaning (1688):

> Let not the Europeans any longer flatter themselves with the empty notion of having surpassed all the world beside

[4] The Spectator, I, 172.

[5] Allen, I, 234.

> in stately palaces, costly temples and sumptuous fabrics; ancient and modern Rome must now give place. The glory of one country, Japan alone, has exceeded in beauty and magnificence all the pride of the Vatican at this time and the Pantheon heretofore.[6]

Stalker conceived Japanese art as being beautiful and magnificent. The concept of beauty, as represented in Chinese or Japanese art, however, was a rather dubious one to the late seventeenth century connoisseur, for whom

> The Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly in some certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities; our Walks and our Trees ranged so, as to answer one another, and at exact Distances. The Chinese scorn this Way of Planting, and say a Boy that can tell a Hundred may plant Walks of what Length and Extent he pleases. But their greatest Beauty shall be great and strike the Eye, but without any Order or Disposition of Parts, that shall commonly or easily be observ'd.[7]

This seventeenth century notion of beauty was an irrelevant one for Pope and provided one of the subjects of his satire:

> No pleasing Intricacies intervene,
> No artful wildness to perplex the scene;
> Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,
> And half the platform just reflects the other.[8]

The fieriest critic of oriental art was the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose own concept of beauty, based on the relationship between art and morals, was contradicted by the beauty of Chinese art. Contempt for and rejection of Chinese art can be observed throughout the beginning of the early eighteenth century, adding the extra impact of uniqueness to Pope's lines on gardening with their reflexion of the Chinese style of gardening and its accompanying concept of beauty.

[6] Allen, I, 237.

[7] William Temple, "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus: or Of Gardening in the Year 1685," in The Genius of the Place, ed. John D. Hunt and Peter Willis (London: Elek Books, 1975), p. 99.

[8] Alexander Pope, "Epistle IV, to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington," ll. 115-119 in Pope, Poetical Works, ed. Herbert Davis (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

The fashion for Orientalism, embracing the entire art experience derived from the East, produced a twofold reaction. It freed the eighteenth century connoisseur from rigid artistic rules, which had limited his visual experience by their Classical boundaries, and it brought forth a new artistic concept, based upon the rejection of symmetry and the straight line, the Rococo.

The word 'rococo' is derived from 'rocaille', the term descriptive of the materials, like shells, pebbles and corals, of which the artificial grottos of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were constructed. The importance of the Rococo as an artistic expression lies in its negation of Classical aesthetics, paving the way for Romanticism and its revision of the concept of Nature. Although the Rococo was definitely influenced by oriental art, it also meant a return to the characteristic qualities of the Gothic. Kenneth Clark observes a close relationship between the Rococo and the Gothic:

> The architectural romanticism which was nourished on ruins displayed itself in other and more frivolous ways, producing a quantity of work which is not easy to classify. I have called it all Rococo. On the Continent this style was attained by taking the line and the movement of the Baroque and giving it an extra twist, but England had no traditional Baroque to travesty, instead she travestied Gothic.[9]

The relationship between Rococo and Gothic is best illustrated by quoting the advice of Neve's Complete Builder's Guide (1703), in which Neve explains the (modern) Gothic in terms of the Rococo, which: "runs into the contrary extreme (as compared with ancient Gothic, which is massive, cumbersome and unwieldy), and is known by its Disposition, and by its affected Lightness, Delicacy, and over-rich, even whimsical Decorations." Characteristic attributes of the Rococo are applied to the modern Gothic in this builder's advice. The confusion of these two modes of artistic expression indicates an awareness of their spiritual closeness.

The popularity of Orientalism, particularly of Chinese art, stimulated the birth of the Rococo, which for its artistic and architectural expression looked back towards the Gothic and travestied certain architectural elements of this style.

[9] Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (London, Redwood Burn, 1974), p. 50.

2. The Development of the Natural Landscape Garden

The lady's garden described in the Spectator No. 37 was laid out according to a pattern which, to some extent, can be called the natural landscape garden. The garden is situated in a kind of wilderness, with rocks shaped into artificial grottos and woods cut to shady walks. The garden with its playfulness, its unexpected vistas and lack of restraint exhibits an embryonic Romantic spirit.

The importance of the natural landscape garden, apart from its being the visual realisation of a new interpretation of Nature, lies in its influence on the interiors of the early eighteenth century houses. It came to be felt a necessity to bring the external natural environment into the house. Rococo and Neo-Gothic ornamentations, as used in the interiors, drew their inspiration from the garden, like the vine freely creeping over the walls, done in plaster. The interior came to be regarded as an extension of the exterior, which not only influenced the architectural style of the house, but also the way of life.

A typical aspect of the English natural landscape garden is its freedom, symbolising political freedom, which was secured after the Glorious Revolution.

The origin of the appreciation of a more natural garden is to be found in the late seventeenth century writings of William Temple, in which he compares the Chinese way of gardening, or Sharawaggi, with the French and Dutch modes of gardening, the former being characterised by its formal walks and parallel layout, the latter by its topiary and formal flowerbeds. Temple's essay Upon the Gardens of Epicurus: or Gardening in the Year 1685 is the "first suggestion ever of a possible beauty fundamentally different from the formal, a beauty of irregularity and fancy."[10] Addison emphasizes the point that the beauty of the Chinese garden is achieved through its concealment of art:

> Writers, who have given us an Account of China, tell us,

[10] Nikolaus Pevsner, Studies in Art, Architecture and Design, from Mannerism to Romanticism (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), I, 82.

> the inhabitants of that Country laugh at the Plantations of our Europeans, which are laid out by Rule and Line, because they say, any one may plant Trees in equal Rows and uniform Figures. They chuse rather to show a Genius in Works of this Nature, and therefore always conceal the Art by which they express the particular Beauty of a Plantation that thus strikes the Imagination at first Sight, without discovering what it is that has so agreeable an Effect.[11]

Castell, in his work The Villas of the Ancients (1728), dedicated to Lord Burlington, regards the Chinese style of gardening as a symbiosis of two manners, the wild and the tamed:

> By the accounts we have of the present Manner of Designing in China, it seems as if from the former Manners, a Third has been formed, whose Beauty consisted in a close Imitation of Nature, where, tho' the Parts are disposed with the greatest Art, the Irregularity is still preserved; so that their Manner may not improperly be said to be an artful Confusion, where there is no appearance of that Skill which is made use of, their Rocks, Cascades, and Trees, bearing their natural Forms.[12]

Castell is one of the first authors to regard the Chinese way of gardening as being natural. He mentions the garden as being "a close imitation of Nature" and as consisting of "natural forms."

Not only the naturalness of the Chinese garden played an important part in popularising this kind of gardening, but it also drew attention as the symbol of a political system. The naturalness and lack of restraint in the Chinese garden were characteristics also to be found in the Dutch landscape paintings of the seventeenth century. William Temple, who had served as an envoy to the Netherlands, was an admirer of the political system of the Dutch Republic and must have seen pictures of the Dutch landscape school during his stay in The Hague. The toleration of a relatively free political system encouraged an unaffectedly natural style of landscape painting.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, who had also had close dealings with the Dutch Republic, emphasised the freedom of the natural landscape garden:

> Your Genius, the Genius of the Place, and the Great Genius

[11] The Spectator, VII, No. 414.

[12] Robert Castell, "The Villas of the Ancients," in The Genius of the Place, ed. John D. Hunt and Peter Willis (London: Elek Books, 1975), p. 189.

> have at last prevail'd. I shall no longer resist the Passion growing in me for Things of a natural kind, where neither Art, nor the Conceit or Caprice of Men has spoil'd their genuine Order, by breaking in upon that primitive State. Even the rude Rocks, the mossy Caverns, the irregular wrought Grotto's and broken Falls of Water, with all the horrid Graces of the Wilderness itself, as representing Nature more, will be the more engaging, and appear with a Magnificence beyond the formal Mockery of Princely Gardens.[13]

Shaftesbury introduces here a new interpretation of the concept of beauty, implied in the "horrid Graces of the Wilderness." This meant, at least in garden architecture, a break with the Cartesian philosophy, the interpretation of the natural in terms of the universal laws of geometry, which was one of the principal elements of the formal garden.

The theme of freedom is continued by Addison in the Tatler, No. 161, of April 20, 1710:

> I was wonderfully astonished at the Discovery of such a Paradise amidst the Wilderness of those cold, hoary Landskips, which lay about it, but found at length, that this happy Region was inhabited by the Goddess of Liberty, whose Presence softened the rigours of the Climate, enriched the Barrenness of the Soil, and more than supplied the Absence of the Sun. The Place was covered with a wonderful Profusion of Flowers, that, without being Disposed into regular Borders and Parterres, grew promiscuously, and had a greater Beauty in their natural Luxuriancy and Disorder, than they could have received from the Checks and Restraints of Art.

In Switzerland "the Barrenness of the Soil" is enriched by Liberty, guaranteed by its political system, whereas France, under the reign of the Sun King, is for Addison the "Region of Slavery":

> This River (the Rhone) after having made its Progress through these free Nations, stagnates in a huge Lake at the leaving of them, and no sooner enters into the Region of Slavery, but runs thro' them with an incredible Rapidity, and takes the shortest Way to the Sea.[14]

[13] Anthony Ashley Cooper, "The Moralist," in The Genius of the Place, ed. John D. Hunt and Peter Willis (London: Elek Books, 1975), p. 124.

[14] The Spectator, VII, No. 414.

Addison considered the variety of the natural landscape to be a major characteristic of its freedom:

> But tho' there are several of these wild Scenes, that are more delightful than any artificial Shows, yet we find the Works of Nature still more pleasant, the more they resemble those of Art. For in this Case our Pleasure rises from a double Principle: from the Agreeableness of the Objects to the Eye, and from their Similitude to other Objects: We are pleased as well with comparing their Beauties, as with surveying them, and can represent them to our Minds, either as Copies or Originals. Hence it is that Delight in a Prospect which is well laid out, and diversified with Fields and Meadows: Woods and Rivers; in those accidental Landskips of Trees, Clouds and Cities; that are sometimes found in Veins of Marble, in the Curious Fret-Work of Rocks, and Grottos, and, in a Word, in any things that hath such a Variety or Regularity as may seem the Effect or Design, in what we call the Works of Chance.[15]

In the above quoted passage Addison reveals himself to be a typical child of his times in trying to reconcile art and Nature through variety. The argument Addison carries on in The Spectator is controversial in as far as he advocates the limitation of freedom to achieve the desired effect and, at the same time, reinforces the principle of freedom by emphasising the value of variety.

Variety, as one of the main characteristics of the natural landscape garden, is also the theme of Samuel Molyneux's Letter on Petersham Lodge:

> The pleasure a great man takes in being able to force nature, and to make and finish a Garden in a season is what has certainly introduc'd this, whereas I think a well chosen exalted Situation with natural Wood and Water and a distant prospect in spight of all these little vain Efforts of mankind does still display greater beautys, and is in it's wild variety more inviting to the noble Seat that this in all It's finish'd Regularity is pleasing after all; Variety is confess'd to be the Beauty of a Garden.[16]

Variety was also praised by Defoe in A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. The gardens of Lord Burlington's estate at Chiswick, laid out by Bridgeman and Kent deserve praise, for "In a Word, here is more Variety in this Garden, than be found in any other of the same Size in England, or perhaps in Europe." But it was Pope

[15] The Spectator, VII, No. 414.

[16] Samuel Molyneux, "Letter on Petersham Lodge," in The Genius of the Place, ed. Hunt and Willis, p. 150.

who made the most urgent pleas for the inclusion of variety in the layout of gardens: "Mr. Pope used to say that all the beauties of gardening might be comprehended in one word, variety."[17] At Riskins, Lord Bathurst's estate, variety was not always observed:"This at Riskins, for example, Lord Bathurst should have raised two or three mounts, because his situation is all a plain, and nothing can please without variety."[18] Pope gave his advice to future gardeners in a nutshell, variety being the most important aspect:

> All the rules of gardening are reducible to three heads: the contrasts, the management of surprises, and the concealment of the bounds.
> 'Pray, what is it you mean by the contrast?'
> The disposition of the lights and shade.
> ''Tis the colouring then?'
> Just that.
> 'Should not variety be one of the rules?'
> Certainly, one of the chief, but that is included mostly in the contrasts.[19]

Already at a rather early stage in his literary career, Pope had versified this emphasis on variety. In Windsor Forest Pope wrote, "Where Order in Variety we see,/ And where, tho' all things differ, all agree." The same principle was emphasised in the Epistle to Burlington, nineteen years after the publication of Windsor Forest, which indicates the great store Pope set by this concept, "He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds,/ Surprizes, varies, and conceals the Bounds."

Both Addison and Molyneux point out in their writing the close relationship and affinity which exist between gardening and poetry: "I think there are as many Kinds of Gardening as of Poetry: Your Makers of Parterres and Flower Gardens, are Epigrammatists and Sonneteers in this Art; Contrivers of Bower and Grotto's, Treillages and Cascades, are Romance Writers."[20]

[17] Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1966), I, No. 604.

[18] Spence, I, No. 609.

[19] Spence, I, No. 612.

[20] The Spectator, VII, No. 477.

Addison describes his own gardening as being after the "Pindarick Manner", poetry characterised by the irregularity in the number of feet in the different lines and the arbitrary disposition of the rhymes. "You will find, by the Account which I have already given you, that my Compositions in Gardening are altogether after the Pindarick Manner, and run into the beautiful Wildness of Nature, without affecting the nicer elegancies of art."[21]

Molyneux's reasoning recalls Addison's preference of the Pindaric manner:

> Variety is confess'd to be the Beauty of a Garden, now there can be no variety in that one sees all the parts of so plainly at once, and this seems to be a natural Reason against this kind of gardening, a Friend of mine that walk'd with me there and happen'd to be of my opinion methought say'd a pleasant thing enough on this head, that he for his part did not like these Epigrams in gardening and was much more pleas'd with the Epick Style or the Pindarick.[22]

Variety then was the connecting link between the natural art of gardening and a certain poetic expression. Variety was not only an expression of Nature, it became also valued for its capacity to stimulate the imagination, an aspect which took on increased importance after 1710. Stephen Switzer in Iconographia Rustica states that "careless and loose Tresses of Nature, that are easily mov'd by the least Breath of Wind, offer more to the Imagination than the most delicate Pyramid."[23] This stimulation of the imagination was the result of variety and irregularity, realised at Dryham Park, where there is "a beautiful Irregularity, here a Dale, there a Mound, here a winding Valley, there a purling Stream, etc. On your approach to the House from the Hills, you are at once entertain'd with an infinite Variety of beautiful Prospects,"[24] and at Digby's estate in Dorset, described by Pope to Martha Blount:

> The gardens are so irregular, that it is very hard to give an exact idea of them but by plan. Their beauty arises

[21] The Spectator, VII, No. 477.

[22] S. Molyneux, "Letter on Petersham Lodge," in The Genius of of the Place, ed. Hunt and Willis, p. 150.

[23] Stephen Switzer, "Iconographia Rustica," ed. Hunt and Willis, p. 153.

[24] Hunt and Willis, ed., pp. 158, 159.

> from this irregularity; for not only the several parts of the garden itself make the better contrast by these sudden rises, falls and turns of ground, but the views about it are let in, and hang over the walls in very different figures and aspects.[25]

The imagination was encouraged through variety and through the objects placed in the gardens. Batty Langley emphasised this aspect of the garden: "wherein should be observed, that its Parts should be always presenting new Objects, which is a continual Entertainment to the Eye, and raises the Pleasures of the Imagination." [26]

The objects placed in the gardens fulfilled an associative function, an aspect which was typical for the layout of gardens based on picturesque principles. The two important names in the development of this kind of landscape garden are Bridgeman and Kent. Walpole in the History of Modern Taste in Gardening stressed the stature of Bridgeman: "He banished verdant sculptures, and though he still adhered much to straight walks with clipt hedges they were only his great lines; the rest he diversified by wilderness."[27]

William Kent freed the garden from its visual boundaries by inventing the 'ha-ha', a natural device to separate the garden from the surrounding countryside without limiting the vistas. Both Bridgeman and Kent worked on the gardens at Rousham and Chiswick, but it was Kent

> whose training (as a painter) led him to see gardens not only in terms of Claudean landscapes, but as a composition of a three-dimensional yet essentially painterly kind, where the visitor proceeds from one landscape picture into another, and so onwards through the garden.[28]

Through Kent we reach the next stage in the development towards the natural landscape garden, that of the picturesque.

[25] Whitwell Elwin and William John Courthope, Introd., The Works of Alexander Pope (London: John Murray, 1896), IX, (Correspondence IV), 300-301, (No. 54).

[26] Batty Langley, "New Principles of Gardening," ed. Hunt and Willis, p. 178.

[27] Pevsner, I, 94.

[28] Christopher Thacker, The History of Gardens (London: Croom Held, 1979), p. 178.

3. The Picturesque

Pope and Kent took certain principles of the art of landscape painting and applied them to gardening, or as Spence explained the process: "Mr. Pope and Kent were the first that practised painting in gardening."[29] Pope not only stated quite clearly that "All gardening is landscape painting"[30] but also offered practical advice, "You may distance things by darkening them and by narrowing the plantation more and more towards the end, in the same manner as they do in painting, and as 'tis executed in the little cypress walk to that obelisk."[31]

Pictorial lightening and shading applied to gardening are "managed by disposing the thick grove-work, the thin, and the openings in a proper manner, of which the eye generally is the properest judge."[32]

William Kent, with whom Pope collaborated on the layout of some gardens,

> apparently first grasped that the way to bring into being the artist's and philosopher's conception of real natural landscape was to study and to some extent reproduce landscape paintings. This was the genesis of what was to become the cult of the picturesque later in the century.[33]

The landscape paintings Pope, Kent and others drew their inspiration from were those of Lorrain., Poussin, Rosa and Piranesi. The compositional formula of these paintings and the use of architecture in them appealed strongly to the picturesque gardeners. Piranesi in particular exercised great influence on the awareness of the wildness of Nature:

> The more dramatic nature painters, Salvator Rosa and the rest, did not press the wildness of their inspiration

[29] Spence, I, No. 603.

[30] Spence, I, No. 606.

[31] Spence, I, No. 610.

[32] Spence, I, No. 611.

[33] Margaret Jourdain, The Works of William Kent (London: Thames and Hudson, 1948), p.22.

> beyond its natural confines. It is perhaps only with Piranesi that a new spirit begins to show its force. In Piranesi, the greatest master of the picturesque in art, Nature holds architecture in its clasp.[34]

This wildness of Nature was architecturally realised in the garden through magnificent rock arrangements and grottos, conveying the impression of being without any apparent order. But Piranesi had a different appeal for the English as well, because "the English were, under the skin, incurably romantic and if the rationalism of Laughier pulled in one direction, the wildly irrational inventions of the great architect-etcher pulled in another. The laughter of Piranesi was irresistible."[35]

The term picturesque was probably first used by Vasari in The Lives (1550) to indicate a particular manner of painting:

> The phrase 'alla pittoresca' is used in connection with the differentiation between two styles of cartoons that the painter can make for his sketches. Vasari is here really thinking of drawings which we today should call picturesque in contrast to those that are merely outlines and as such approach the concept of the linear. 'Alla pittoresca' means therefore: painted with a brush after the manner of painting, instead of drawn with a crayon.[36]

There was also another use of this term in the Renaissance which comes closer to the meaning of the term in the eighteenth century:

> The term 'pittoresci' was used in the Renaissance, and it stood, on its own showing, for the qualities which suggest a picture, and are of use in the making of it. Picturesque elements - elements that are curious, fantastic, accidental, had been sought after in the painting of Italian backgrounds almost from the first.[37]

In the eighteenth century the term picturesque took on a much broader meaning than that of the 'qualities which suggest a picture'. It was used to describe the impression the architecture, the landscape or a situation made on the observer's mind.

[34] Geoffrey Scott, The Architecture of Humanism (London: Constable and Company, 1914), p. 88.

[35] John Summerson, The Classical Language of Architecture (London: Methuen & Co., 1964), p. 38.

[36] Paul Frankl, The Gothic, Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1960), p.428.

[37] Scott, p. 82.

The development of the aesthetic use of the term picturesque was completed by Uvedale Price in the latter part of the eighteenth century. He suggested the term picturesque to indicate certain aesthetic qualities not included in the sublime and beautiful as defined by Burke, who had written in An Enquiry into the Origin of our Idea of the Sublime:

> Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the Sublime, that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling.[38]

The relationship between the terrible and the sublime is explained:

> The passion caused by the great and Sublime in nature is astonishment, and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended with some degree of horror. Whatever therefore is terrible, with regard to sight, is sublime, too.[39]

Although Burke wrote his treatise on the sublime thirteen years after Pope's death, Pope was well aware of the sublime aspect of the landscape and its evocation of terror. In a letter describing the view from Durdham Down above St.Vincent's Rock, Pope states that "Upon the top of those high Rocks by the Hotwell, which I've described to you, there runs on One side a large Down, of fine Turf, for about three miles. It looks too frightful to approach the brink & look down upon the River."[40]

Morris R. Brownell has also drawn the attention to Pope's "Postscript of the Odyssey" as an illustration of Pope's understanding of the sublime:

> The Odyssey is a perpetual source of Poetry: the stream is not the less full, for being gentle; tho' it is true

[38] Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful (London: R.& J. Doebley, 1759), p. 58.

[39] Burke, p. 95.

[40] George Sherburn, The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), IV, 204.

> (when we speak only with regard to the Sublime) that a river, foaming and thund'ring in cataracts from rocks and precipices, is what more strikes, amazes, and fills the mind, than the same body of water, flowing afterwards thro' peaceful vales and agreeable scenes of pasturage.[41]

Pope's understanding of the sublime was the outcome of his interpretation of Nature. The lines: "The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees,/ Trees cut to Statues, Statues thick as trees," indicate the practice of clipping trees and reshaping them into statues, which was still very much in vogue at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This topiary work represented for Pope "inverted Nature":

> How contrary to this Simplicity is the modern Practice of Gardening; we seem to make it our Study to recede from Nature, not only in the various Tonsure of Greens into the most regular and formal Shapes, but even in monstruous Attempts beyond the reach of the Art itself: We run into Sculpture, and are yet better pleas'd to have our Trees in the most awkward Figures of Men and Animals, than in the most regular of their own.[42]

For Pope, inverted Nature exhibits a regular and formal quality, whereas the sublime is achieved through irregularity and informality, which, combined, include wildness.

The picturesque effect of a garden was partly achieved through the incorporation of certain architectural embellishments in the garden, as for example in the gardens at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, which were eulogised by Pope in the Epistle to Burlington:

> Spontaneous beauties all around advance,
> Start ev'n from Difficulty, strike from Chance;
> Nature shall join you; Time shall make it grow
> A Work to wonder at - perhaps a STOW. (ll. 67-70)

William Kent added some of the architectural embellishments to these gardens, like a Temple of Venus, a Temple of Concord and Victory,

[41] Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 91.

[42] Alexander Pope, "On Gardens," in The Prose Works of Alexander Pope, ed. Norman Ault (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 148.

[43] Brownell, p. 266.

a Temple of Ancient Virtue and a Temple of Modern Virtue. The associative function of garden architecture is already rather obvious from their names. The Temple of Virtue was a Classical-style building, and represented the "flourishing condition of ancient Virtue."[43] The Temple of Modern Virtue was erected as a ruin and described as a "heap of stones which should have composed some regular system of architecture,"[44] but which showed in fact "the ruinous state of modern Virtue."[44]

The gardens at Stowe also realised another aspect of the picturesque, emphasised by Gilpin in A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable Lord Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire (1748). This dialogue contains one of the first utterances on the amphitheatre metaphor, which eventually led to seeing the garden in a theatrical way. In this Dialogue Calloph says: "You must know I look upon this as a very noble Prospect. The Field is formed by that Semi-Circle of Trees into a very grand Theatre."[45]

Pope was one of the first gardeners to describe the garden in theatrical terms, as in the Epistle to Burlington: "Or scoops in circling theatres the Vale." The importance of this metaphor in relation to the further development of Romanticism is that

> In der Entwicklung von pittoresker zu romantischer Landschaftsliebe spielt die Amphitheater-Metapher eine besondere Rolle. Durch diese Metapher wird es den noch von der klassischen Landschaft beeinflußten möglich, eine unklassische Landschaft, wie Lake District, zu akzeptieren. Diese Entwicklung durchläuft verschiedene Phasen: zunächst interessiert man sich für reine Landschaftsmalerei. Durch den Einfluß Claudes und Rosas wird Landschaft als Motiv in einem Bild interessant, aber nur Italienische Landschaft. Die wirkliche Italienische Landschaft wird wie eine Folge von Bildern Claudes und Rosas betrachtet, allmählich abstrahiert man bestimmte Züge dieser Landschaft wie die amphiteaterige Komposition von Landschaften, z.B. Lake District.[46]

This development led to the incorporation of several architectural structures in the garden to achieve a theatrical, picturesque

[43] Brownell, p.266.

[44] Brownell, p. 267.

[45] Hunt and Willis, ed., p. 255.

[46] Gisela Dirschner, Ursprünge der Rheinromantik in England (Frankfurt/Main: Vittoria Klostermann, 1972), p. 41.

type of scenery. "Pope und seine Freunde haben den Szenenbegriff des Theaters in die Gartenkunst übernommen. Die Gartenszene wurde dementsprechend fast immer durch ein Bauwerk akzentuiert, sie war noch keineswegs Präsentation einer 'reinen Natur'." [47]

These architectural structures could be copied from the paintings of Rosa and Piranesi, the dominant note of whose art "is a tormented, hallucinatory, solemn vision which appears to have nothing to do with neoclassicism and which is, on the contrary, very closely related to romantic sensibility." [48]

Often these architectural embellishments were built in imitation of a ruin. The ruin plays a crucial part in the development of Romanticism. Since medieval ruins were still abundant, it led the English picturesque observer back to his own national past and cultural heritage. Thanks to the picuresque movement, the ruin was discovered and appreciated as an architectural asset, and this in turn led to a re-assessment of its predominant architectural style, the Gothic.

4. The Ruin

The origin of the use of the ruin is probably to be found in the paintings and architecture of sixteenth century Italy. Rocks were frequently used as a background or focal point in Renaissance paintings, rustification was used in architecture. In these Italian Renaissance paintings, however, there exists an incongruous mixture of Classicism and Gothicism:

> Sixteenth century mannerism employs the exciting element of picture making irrespective of their truth or relevance; and that although it uses, as far as possible, the forms of classicism, it reveals, in accent and rhythm, the great deposit of Gothicism which the Renaissance had not strained out of Italian art.

[47] Adrian von Buttlar, Der Englische Landsitz, 1715-1760 (Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1982), p. 66.

[48] Mario Praz, On Neoclassicism (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 92.

> It was characteristic of the mannerists, that they should take pleasure in the fantastic rocks of gothic painting; but should justify this taste by using forms derived from the decorative landscapes of antiquity.[49]

The use of rocks, giving the illusion of dropped stones, of something half finished, is achieved in architecture through the use of rustification:

> As the word implies, it was at first conceived to mean a rough countrified way of laying stones, each particular stone retaining some of the individuality it had when hewn from the quarry. However, this rustic roughness was recognized in due course the subject of extreme sophistication.[50]

Rustification is described by Serlio as "being fundamentally a mixture of the natural and the artificial - he seems to imply a sort of struggle between artifices and the forces of nature."[51] A definition applicable to the picturesque garden as well. The expression of this thoroughly Romantic idea - the struggle between artifices and the forces of Nature - is well illustrated by the works of Giulio Romano, especially by his fresco The Fall of the Giants. This work shows enormous heaps of rough stones, giants and wild seas. The impression it makes is almost grotesque.

Architectural use of rustification is made at the Palazzo del Te, the summer palace of the Duke of Mantua. Here "Everything is a bit uneasy, a bit wrong. In the entablature some of the stones have slipped. These 'slipped ' stones occur in the same place on either side of the building."[52]

This palace is Romantic in spirit, as it illustrates the struggle between the natural and the artificial, in this case the natural being represented by the fallen stones, the artificial being the fact that man caused these stones to be 'slipped'. The effect of rustification on the observer is irrational and impressionistic, it "recalls ruins, especially of course, in the deliberately dropped stones. It recalls ruins half-finished. But it has great power and this very largely because of the dramatic use of rustification."[53]

[49] Kenneth Clark, Landscape into Art (London: John Murray, 1967), p. 95.

[50] Summerson, p. 24.

[51] Summerson, p. 24.

[52] Summerson, p. 24.

[53] Summerson. p. 25.

Romano had not invented the architectural device of rustification. It had already been employed by the Romans and by Renaissance architects, among others by Palladio. Through the Palladian movement, rustification was introduced into England first by Inigo Jones, and in the eighteenth century by Lord Burlington. This architectural device was in essence Romantic, it illustrates an infatuation with the past. Renaissance architecture on the whole was of a Romantic character, as it revived the Classical theories of Vitruvius and combined these with rustification. The interiors were embellished with frescos portraying landscapes with ruins, which also brought to life a glorious past. Both the interior and the exterior reinforced the identification with the past:

> Palladios Auffassung zielt auf die Wiederherstellung des antiken Hauses. Die Ruinenlandschaften an den Wänden vollenden dieses Konzept. Die Ruinenstaffage bestimmt die Szenen als ideales Abbild der antiken Gesellschaft. Doch nicht in einem allgemein antiquarischen, sondern in einem archeologischen pointierten Sinn, es ist die römische Landschaft, in der einst prächtige Villen eines Augustus, Caesars u.a.. standen, deren Glanz die Palladio-Epoche wieder zu wecken versuchte.[54]

The landscape paintings depicting ruins also point towards a negation of reality, towards a utopian view of the past and a withdrawal from the present, an aspect which will also be encountered by Pope:

> Wenn in den Palladio-Villen dieselben Ruinenlandschaften die Wirklichkeit verdrängten wie in dem Traumzelt des Poliphilus, so steht dahinter dieselbe Intention als im Roman des Colonna: Transzendierung der realen und gegenwärtigen Welt in die reale und vergangene Landschaft der 'negativen' Utopie.[55]

Colonna's The Dream of Poliphilus was very influential in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was written by Francesco Colonna as Hypnerotomachia Poliphili some time after 1447 and published in Venice in 1499. Translation into French followed in 1546 and a part of the book was translated into English as The Strife of

[54] R. Bentmann and M. Müller, Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), p. 58.

[55] Bentmann and Müller, p. 66.

Love in a Dream in 1592. This literary work describes the dream of Poliphilus, in which he passes through many fantastic, almost grotesque scenes: wild forests, ruins, enormous terraced pyramids, colossal and perplexing statues. His encounter with dragons, enigmatic sculptures, lavish palaces, are vividly described, as well as the many pastoral and garden scenes. The book exercised great influence on Rabelais, Shakespeare and Bernini. Colonna's book was not only read, some of the vision became reality, too:

> The spirit of Colonna's Hypnerotomachia is shared (or realised) in the garden of Bomarzo (created for Vicino Ursini in the 1560s). The arrangement of many garden features over the sloping and rocky sides seem capricious and perplexing. Scattered up and down the hillside are some twenty, at least, huge statues of human beings, gods and goddesses, animals, and monsters, a leaning house, an amphitheatre, an open colonnade, a temple, a fragment of a colossal ruin, and other features.[56]

Before its introduction into England, the ruin had become a permanent garden feature in the Italian landscape garden. It served as a means of identification with the past, and as a garden embellishment as depicted in Italian landscape paintings.

Its relationship with the past, however, had not clearly settled the architectural style in which it was to be built. Gothic aspects were added to Classical structures. It was left to the English to clarify its architectural style.

The ruin was introduced into England in the early part of the eighteenth century. Its attraction for the English was due to several factors, its relationship with the past, its picturesque effect in the landscape and its affinity with the Rococo. Its associations with the past, its 'grandeur in decay'

> Inspired the more sensitive spirits of the 18th century with a great deal of melancholy pleasure. Ruins suggested the transitory nature of human pomp, the futility of human accomplishments and emphasized the fact that the paths of glory lead but to the grave. The ruin might be both picturesque and sublime, but its principal attraction lay in its melancholy associations.[57]

[56] Thacker, pp. 108-109.

[57] Warren H. Smith, Architecture in English Fiction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 19.

The matter still to be solved was the architectural style of the ruin. Should the Classical style be preferred, associating the ruin with the glorious Greek and Roman civilisations, or should the Gothic style take precedence, owing to its association with the English architectural heritage? Most of the early sham ruins were Classical,

> as they were chiefly inspired by the Italian landscape. But there were reasons why fashionable taste came to prefer Gothic: for one thing, authentic ruins were often as effective as sham ones and cost nothing to erect, and in England practically all the authentic ruins are medieval.[58]

Lord Kames in Elements of Criticism plainly recommended the use of the Gothic for the ruin, as

> a classic ruin was less desirable because it depressed the beholder, reminding him of the tragic circumstance that the barbarians had triumphed over the taste of the ancients. As the condition of the Gothic ruin, on the other hand, represented merely the victory of time over strength, it was on that account to be preferred.
>
> It did not convey any painful ideas, but affected the spirit with melancholy such as was only a source of pleasure to a person of fine sensibility.[59]

This melancholic pleasure became a fashionable spiritual state of mind. However, it also represented a flight from the present into a highly imaginatively coloured past, visually projected in the ruins and Neo-Gothic castles. The relationship between Gothicism and sensibility was a new aspect, ridiculed by Jane Austen in Northanger Abbey towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The sham ruin had actually very little in common with medieval Gothic. Therefore it might be better to follow Robson-Scott's recommendation and call this early experiment with the Gothic the Gothic Rococo:

> The common characteristics of these examples of Garden Gothic is their fripperishness. They are marked by the lightness and frivolity which unite them in spirit clearly enough to the Rococo. This mid-century Rococo Gothicism was never more than a mode, a means of tickling the jaded

[58] Clark, The Gothic Revival, p. 47.

[59] Allen, I, 170.

> palate of the 'enlightened' connoisseur or amateur of taste with an exotic flavour, on a level precisely with the rage for chinoiserie, which often accompanied and sometimes even mingled with it.[60]

The man to be held responsible for introducing the sham ruin to garden architecture in England is William Kent, who was the first to rebel against the formal garden and who made all the Romantic irregularities fashionable. Kent was also responsible for introducing the temple of Sybil, "which was the most frequently imitated building in landscape."[61].

These temples were

> built complete, others in a ruined state, not for the sake of architectural and historical accuracy, but because the idea of a ruined building carried with it the association of greater antiquity, mingled with melancholy at the transcience of human memories.
>
> Much of this approval of old rather than new, and of ruined rather than complete buildings comes from a wish to avoid the brash, authoritarian and worldly attitudes which typified the formal gardens of Versailles.[62]

This is an echo of Addison's ideas of a garden of freedom, expressed in The Spectator (No. 414). The earliest sham ruin in the Gothic taste seems to have been erected at Shotover,

> where the vista at the end of the long canal is closed by an arcaded building with three pointed arches, small pinnacled towers to each side, and a battlemented pediment in the centre. The date 1721 has been suggested, but I doubt if it is quite that early.[63]

It may already be indicated at this early stage that Pope was aware of the importance of the ruin in the garden. We know that in his garden, where the passage emerged into the garden there was a circular temple and a mound of which Serle tells us that it consisted of "various sorts of stone, thrown promiscuously together in imitation of an old ruin." [64]

[60] William D. Robson-Scott, The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 22.

[61] Thacker, p. 186.

[62] Thacker, p. 186.

[63] Thacker, p. 189.

[64] Pevsner, I, 90.

The overall importance of the ruin was

> that it did at least accustom people to Gothic forms - pointed arches, pinnacles, and so forth - in however debased a shape, as an alternative to the accepted classical orthodoxy. Moreover through its main exponent in England it played some significance in the Gothic Revival in this country.[65]

[65] Robson-Scott, p. 29.

Chapter Two: Pope and Garden Architecture

1. Alfred's Hall in Cirencester

In the early 1720s Lord Bathurst required Pope's assistance in building a sham castle on his estate in Cirencester. This project must have held a great attraction for Pope, if it was only for its location. The wood where Lord Bathurst wanted this piece of garden architecture to be erected held a magical charm for Pope. In a letter to Lord Bathurst Pope describes the impression the wood made on Gay, whose feelings may well reflect his own:

> Mr. Gay is as zealously carry'd to the Bower by the force of Imagination as ever Don Quixote was to an Enchanted Castle. The Wood is to him the Cave of Montesinos: He has already planted it with Myrtles, & peopled it with Nymphs. The old Woman of the Pheasantry appears already an Urganda; & there wants nothing but a Christal Rivulet to purl thro' the Shades, which might be large enough to allay Mr. Lewis's great Thirst after water.
>
> But my Lord, I beg you be comforted. Gay promises, that whatever may be said by the Prose-men of his age, Posterity shall believe there was water in Okely Wood.[1]

This letter describing Oakley Wood exudes the atmosphere of a fairy tale, all the ingredients are present: the imagination leads the visitor to an enchanted castle, the wood is peopled with nymphs, and here, too, is Urganda, the enchantress of the romances of Amadis and Palmerin.

In October 1718 Pope visited Oakley Bower and wrote the following impression to the Blount sisters:

> I am with Lord Bathurst, at my Bower; in whose Groves we had yesterday a dry walk of three hours. It is the place that of all others I fancy; & I am not yet out of humour with it, tho' I have had it some months: It does not cease to be agreeable to me so late in the Season; the very dying

[1] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 477.

> of the leaves adds a variety of colours that is not unpleasant. I look upon it, as upon a Beauty I once loved, whom I should preserve a Respect for in the Decay; and as we should look upon a Friend, with remembrance how he pleas'd us once, tho' now declined from his gay and flourishing condition.[2]

Apart from its magic Oakley Bower offered also a sense of melancholy, and these two aspects were to be incorporated in a sham castle, thereby heightening the impact of these sensations.

In 1723 Lord Bathurst informs Pope of his intention to change the little wood house in Oakley Wood:

> You shall be sure to hear from me as soon as I come there, and for an encouragement to you, I must let you know that the scheme I am at present upon is what you will like, for I am resolved to begin with the alteration of my wood-house, and some little baubling works about it, which you shall direct as you will.[3]

on which Whitwell comments:

> The wood house seems to have been a common cottage, which Lord Bathurst was bent on converting into a picturesque object. Mrs. Pendarves writes to Swift, on October 24, 1733, "He has greatly improved the wood house which you may remember as but a cottage, not a bit better than an Irish cabin. It is now a venerable castle, and has been taken by an antiquarian for one of King Arthur's with thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild," which means that Lord Bathurst built a sham ruin.[4]

Although Bathurst's letter to Pope requesting his assistance is dated 1723, there exists an earlier reference to the project. Atterbury wrote to Pope on September 27, 1721:

> I am pleased to find that you have so much pleasure and (which is the foundation of it) so much health at Lord Bathurst's. May both continue, till I see you. May my Lord have as much satisfaction in building the House in the Wood and using it, when built, as you have in designing it.[5]

[2] Sherburn, I, 515.

[3] Sherburn, II, 207.

[4] Whitwell Elwin, Introd., The Works of Alexander Pope (London: John Murray, 1872), VIII, (Correspondence III), 330.

[5] Sherburn, II, 85.

In all probability Pope first designed a common cottage for Lord Bathurst, which was then converted into Alfred's Hall. In 1732 this sham ruin was nearing its completion and Pope's assistance was once more required:

> I long to see you excessively, for I have now almost finished my hermitage in the wood, and it is better than you can imagine, and many other things are done that you have no idea of. However, there is enough remaining to employ you for a week at least, and occasion the consumption of a quire of paper in draughts. I will venture to assert that all Europe cannot show such a pretty little plain work in the Brobdingnag style, as what I have executed here.[6]

One of the most interesting aspects of this letter, besides the mention of Pope's involvement in one of the first attempts to erect a sham ruin in the Gothic style, is the description of this building as being in the 'Brobdingnag style', obviously referring to Gulliver's Travels:

> Durch das verkleinerte Bauwerk wird gleichsam der Mensch zum Riesen, am Menschen gemessen das Bauwerk Bestandteil des Zwergstaates Lilliput; aus bildhafter Entfernung soll das Verkleinerte paradoxerweise gerade monumentalisiert werden.[7]

The reason for Alfred's Hall being built on a small scale is that this played a part in achieving the effect of picturesque scenery. Alfred's Hall, completedaround 1736, was

> a precocious and isolated example of the ruined-castle folly. It is a minor building originally containing only one room but also a materpiece of the "amorphous squalor of medievalism" as Miss Barbara Jones puts it. It offers more of the awful elements so essential to the poets than perhaps any Gothic structure of the century. Set in a clearing, surrounded by sinister trees and shrouded with creepers, this decaying piece of deception makes most follies of later years seem the shams they are, and probably contains the first opening in a secular work in our period.[8]

[6] Sherburn, III, 300.

[7] Adrian von Buttlar, Der Englische Landsitz: 1715-1760 (Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1982), p. 68.

[8] Terence Davis, The Gothic Taste (London, Vancouver: David and Charles, 1969), p. 25.

The setting of Alfred's Hall "in a clearing, surrounded by sinister trees" sounds like an amphitheatre, the importance of which in the development of the Romantic garden is explained by Ms. Dirschner.[9]

Although Alfred's Hall was of an imitative nature, its function went beyond that of a mere eyecatcher:

> Alfred's Hall consists primarily of a stone façade, all of rustic stone broken with Tudor and possibly medieval windows and battlemented towers. One student of sham castles in this period finds Pope's and Bathurst's building a closer approximation of medieval architecture than later follies: "Earl Bathurst and Pope made Alfred's Hall a building which is difficult to equal as a convincing sham."
>
> In an age of symmetry they abandoned regularity to give their work the real horrid feeling of conglomeration, as opposed to architecture which characterizes so much medieval building in this country.[10]

The name Alfred's Hall is redolent of many historical and patriotic associations. In the First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated Pope had celebrated Alfred:

> And virtuous Alfred, a more sacred Name,
> After a Life of gen'rous Toils endur'd,
> The Gaul subdu'd, or Property secur'd,
> Ambition humbled, mighty Cities storm'd.
> Or Laws establish'd, and the world reform'd,
> Clos'd their long Glories with a sigh, to find
> Th' unwilling Gratitude of base mankind. (ll.8-14)

Of King Alfred it is furthermore known that he was "the founder of the English Constitution"[11] and that he "crushed corruption and guarded Liberty."[11] Alfred's Hall, through its association with the past, turned into a statement in which Pope upheld the Gothic as a symbol of political justice and freedom. The absence of rules in Gothic architecture, its freedom of expression, symbolise the reign of King Alfred as directly in contrast to the suppression of freedom

[9] Gisela Dirschner, Ursprünge der Rheinromantik in England (Frankfurt/Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1972), p. 41.

[10] Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope - Virtuoso (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 199.

[11] Buttlar, p. 160.

in politics and in architectural expression in Pope's own day. The conclusion that the Gothic represents Liberty, whereas Neo-Palladianism stands for oppression, can be drawn at this point. It should not therefore come as a surprise that Pope used the Gothic style in garden architecture, although for some

> it is surprising to discover that Pope was in all probability the designer of the earliest sham ruin in an English landscape garden, predating Sanderson Miller's castle at Edgehill (1746, usually cited as the earliest) by more than twenty years.[12]

Furthermore, the landscape garden as developed by Pope reflected the same principles as Gothic architecture: variety, surprise and concealment of the bounds. The relationship between the Gothic and the natural landscape was an important factor for Pope in his preference for the Gothic in garden architecture:

> It is not surprizing to discover that one of the early landscape gardeners should have been involved in the Gothic revival. Both movements began at about the same time in England, and were promoted by the same people: those who believed in a genetic connection between Gothic architecture (the architecture of trees, according to the 'forest theory') and natural unadorned landscape; who recognized in ruined architecture overgrown with trees an aesthetic equivalent to picturesque landscape.[13]

Pope was well aware of the 'forest theory', which explained the origin of architecture. To Spence he said that he had "sometimes had an idea of planting an old Gothic cathedral, or rather some old Roman temple, in trees."[14] His Shell Temple in the garden at Twickenham reflected this notion, as well as the walk at Riskins, laid out by Bathurst with Pope's assistance and encouragement. The Countess of Hertford said of this walk that she was "extremely partial to (it) ... rightly called the Abbey-walk, since it is composed of prodigiously high beech-trees, that form an arch through the whole length,

[12] Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 275.

[13] Brownell, p. 275.

[14] Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1966), I, No. 619.

exactly resembling a cloister."[15]

The Countess of Hertford's description of Pope's walk makes it sound almost as if Pope's idea of "planting an old Gothic cathedral in trees" had been realised. Pope had the notion that "good large poplars, with their white stems, cleared of boughs to a proper height, would serve very well for the columns, and might form the different aisles or peristiliums, by their different distances and heights."[16]

Pope's familiarity with the 'forest theory', through which the Gothic became 'naturalised', may have been the result of his reading William Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum (1724), where, speaking of the cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral, Stukeley writes: "the idea of it is taken from a walk of trees, whose branching heads are curiously imitated by the roof."[17]

Alfred's Hall was the expression of Pope's Romanticism, it reflected picturesque principles and carried vivid associations of a highly valued past. The importance Pope attached to medieval architecture or ruins is the subject of his letter to Martha Blount, in which he described the ruins on Lord Digby's estate:

> What should induce my Lord Digby to cultivate these ruins, and do honour to them, is that they do no small honour to his Family; that Castle, which was very ancient, being demolished in the Civil wars, after it was nobly defended by one of his Ancestors in the cause of the King.[18]

The associative value of the Gothic in particular, its idealisation of the past and its inherent negation of the present, both political and social, carried a great attraction for Pope. Bolingbroke's

[15] Frances (Thynne) Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, Correspondence between Frances Countess of Hertford ... and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the Years 1738 and 1741 (London: 1805), II, 3, as quoted in Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England, p. 232.

[16] Spence, I, No. 619.

[17] William Stukeley, Itinerarium Curiosum; or an Account of the Antiquity and Remarkable Curiositys in Nature thro' Great Britain (London: N.P., 1724), p. 257.

[18] Sherburn, II, 239.

thoughts on the Gothic are in line with Pope's:

> Methinks there was something respectable in those old hospitable Gothic halls. I entered them with a constitutional sort of reverence. Our old Gothic constitution had a noble strength and simplicity in it, which was well enough represented by the old arches and the solid pillars of the edifices of those days.[19]

2. Pope's Grotto at Twickenham

The grotto Pope built underneath his villa at Twickenham is the second example of his conception of garden architecture. The famous grotto was built in two stages, the first stage taking from 1720 to approximately 1725, the second building stage beginning in 1739/40 after Pope had become acquainted with William Borlase.

The grotto has been the subject of many a literary and art critic whose criticism either emphasised the Romantic and Gothic aspects of the grotto or denied the so-called 'romantic eclecticism' of Pope. Bracher, Sitwell, Quennell and Dobai place the emphasis of their criticism on the Romantic aspects of the grotto. Bracher considers the grotto to be the natural outlet for Pope's Romanticism, which he could not express in his literary works:

> The word 'romantic' appears often in Pope's correspondence between 1718 and 1720, meaning reckless, fervent or unrestrained. He did impose on his work an Augustan discipline stooping to truth and moralising his song, which he did not apply to his grott.[1]

Bracher regards Pope's gardening and his grotto as the expression of his Romanticism:

> Pope's taste in gardening was eclectic and what could be more romantic than an unrestrained eclecticism of personal taste. The dominance of whim and fancy over consistency and decorum. Pope's native impulse towards the feigned and extravagant, diverted from expression in his writings, now seems to have turned to his gardens and grotto.[2]

[19] B. Sprague Allen, Tides in English Taste (New York: Pageant Books, 1958), I, 102.

[1] M. Bracher, "The Maze of Fancy," in Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack (Hamden, Archon Books, 1964), p. 104.

[2] Bracher, p. 118.

Bracher makes it sound as if the real Pope is revealed in his garden, and not in his literary works. This would imply that most of Pope's literary works were undertaken with the sole purpose of earning money, and for that reason adapted to contemporary taste. In view of Pope's highly critical attitude towards the Augustan analogy and the divergence of some of his litarary principles, as laid down in the Esssay on Criticism, from Augustan literary principles, Bracher's opinion may hold some truth.[3]

Dobai also points out the difference between Pope's writings and his garden architecture:

> Besondere Wichtigkeit hatte in dem Garten die berühmte, von Pope auch in seinem Gedicht besungene Grotto, die der Perspektive diente und Symbolträger südlicher Heiterkeit war, wie schon frühere englische Grotten. In diesem Fall allerdings 'romantischer' gefärbt. Zahlreiche Briefe Popes zeigen, wie er seltene Muscheln oder Steine sammelte und seine Grotto gleichsam als organisches Kunstwerk baute, das im Laufe der Jahre imposante Dimensionen gewann; mehrere Räume, eine Quelle, Lampen und kunstvoll eingebaute Spiegel enthielt. Eine solche Beschäftigung weist voraus auf die Idee natürlicher Architektur und bedeutet geistesgeschichtlich einen Wendepunkt, da Pope in seinen Briefen immer wieder das Natürliche seiner Schöpfung - ein Gegengewicht zum wachsenden Rationalismus in seinen Gedichten - betonte.[4]

Dobai sees the grotto as diametrically opposed to Pope's poetry. It displays a naturalness through the use of natural materials and, in contrast to the rationalism of his poems, it also has an emotional effect on the senses. Both these aspects will be discussed in greater detail towards the end of this chapter, in relation to the actual process of building the grotto.

Edith Sitwell emphasised the Romantic aspects of the grotto, which "became to him the symbol of romance which was denied to him in every part of his life excepting poetry."[5]

[3] See Chapter Seven.

[4] Johannes Dobai, Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England (Bern: Bentelli Verlag, 1974), I, 173.

[5] Edith Sitwell, Alexander Pope (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1948), p. 146.

In this she differs in opinion from the above quoted authors, and she does not place Pope's poetry in opposition to the grotto. For her, Pope "found in this retreat, a refuge from his misery, from his thwarted romanticism, from his deformity, from his illness."[6] She confirms in her criticism the point of view that Pope's Romanticism had not had the opportunity to develop fully.

Quennell also interprets the grotto as the expression of Pope's character:

> The riverside exit of the subterraneous passage provided a direct view to the Shell Temple in the distant garden. For the builder, the grotto had a twofold charm, not only did it appeal to the more romantic and fantastic side of his literary imagination, but it satisfied the love of secrecy and mystery, of evasion, subterfuge and concealment, that was now deeply rooted in his private character.[7]

The impression the grotto made on the visitor "is eminently Gothick and romantic. Pope intended that his grotto should produce a sense of pleasing melancholy, and the visitor when at length emerged should feel that he had been reborn into a new existence."[8]

Brownell, however, refutes the interpretation of Pope's grotto as being the visual expression of his Romanticism:

> Nor is it any longer possible to accept the modern interpretation of the grotto as 'a maze of fancy' where Pope indulged subversive impulses, repressed in his poetry, and abandoned himself to romantic eclecticism.
>
> Considered as a piece of architecture the grotto evolved from the imitation of a feature of the classical landscape, literary and topographical, to the imitation of a quarry or mine, a plausible development from the classical to the naturalistic. The result was a design in which the aesthetics of the picturesque garden, irregularity and variety were literally domesticated in architecture.[9]

[6] Sitwell, p.151.

[7] Peter Quennell, Alexander Pope (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968), p. 185.

[8] Quennell, p. 186.

[9] Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 270.

Whatever interpretations are given to the grotto, the main point is that Pope built an amazing structure which was at the same time quite unique. The time and money spent on this grotto indicate the importance Pope attached to it. For Pope, the grotto was not the realisation of a fanciful whim, but carried a deeper meaning, which he expressed in his poem "On his Grotto at Twickenham, composed of Marbles, Spars, Gemms, Ores and Minerals":

> Thou who shalt stop, where Thames' translucent wave
> Shines a broad Mirrous thro' the shadowy Cave;
> Where ling'ring drops from min'rals Roofs distill,
> And pointed Crystals break the sparkling Rill,
> Unpolish'd Gemms no ray on Pride bestow,
> And latent Metals innocently glow:
> Approach: Great Nature studiously behold!
> And eye the Mine without a wish for Gold.
> Approach: But awful lo' th' Aegerian Grott,
> Where nobly-pensive, St John sate and thought;
> Where British sighs from dying Wyndham stole,
> And the bright flame was shot thro' Marchmont's Soul.
> Let such, such only, tread this sacred Floor,
> Who dare to love their Country, and be poor.

In this poem Pope reveals to the reader the location of the grotto, which is near the Thames. The grotto itself resembles a "shadowy cave," the inside of which is decorated with "Crystals, Gemms and Metals," which reflect Nature by being unpolished. These surroundings are congenial to philosophers concerned with the state of the nation. Pope meant that an environment of unpolished Nature stimulates man's thoughts on civil liberty and democracy, both of which were threatened in the Walpolean era. Pope takes up the same argument as Addison in The Spectator No. 414 (June 25, 1712) that "wild" Nature and liberty are but two sides of the same coin.

In Searle's pamphlet "A Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden, as it was left at the time of his death, with a Plan and Perspective of the Grott" of 1745, an account is given of the rich use Pope made of several minerals:

> Many fine pieces of sparry marble, of divers colours, and between each course of marble many kind of ores - such as tin ore, copper ore, lead ore, soapy rock, kallan and wild lead intermixed; with large clubs of Cornish diamonds, and several small ores of different degrees of transparency.[10]

[10] Sitwell, pp. 147-150.

The effect of the minerals, illuminated at night by candles, must have been magical, like a Persian tale come to life, turning the grotto into the visual realisation of a poetic project he had never executed:

> After my reading the Persian Tales (and I had been reading Dryden's Fables just before them), I had some thoughts of writing a Persian Fable in which I should have given a full loose to description and imagination. It would have been a very wild thing if I had executed it, but might not have been unentertaining.[11]

Pope's delight in minerals and their magical effect upon him were, however, poetically expressed in The Temple of Fame (1715), some years before he started work on the grotto, in which some of the literary descriptions of the poem were realised. At the end of Pope's description of the exterior of the Temple its overall effect is given:

> The wall in lustre and effect like glass,
> Which o'er each object casting various dyes,
> Enlarges some, and others multiplies. (ll. 132-134)

The entrance to the Temple is described in dramatic terms:

> The Temple shakes, the sounding gates unfold,
> Wide valuts appear, and roofs of fretted gold. (ll.137,138)

followed by a more detailed description of the interior:

> Of bright, transparent beryl were the walls,
> The freezes gold, and gold the capitals:
> As heav'n with stars, the roof with jewels glows,
> And ever-living lamps depend in rows. (ll.141-144)

The epitome of the Temple is the dome owing to the use of precious stones:

> Fill in the midst pour'd Fame's imperial seat
> With jewels blaz'd, magnificently great;
> The vivid em'ralds there revive the eye,
> The flaming rubies shew their sanguine dye,
> Bright azure rays from lively sapphyrs stream,
> And lucid amber casts a golden gleam. (ll. 248-253)

[11] Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford:At the Clarendon Press, 1966), I, No. 340.

The dome is magnificent through the reflection of the colours of the precious stones, it is a fantasy of magical beauty in which Pope took so much delight.

In June 1725 Pope wrote a letter to his friend Edward Blount in which he gave a full account of the now finished grotto:

> I have put the last Hand to my Works of this kind, in happily finishing the subterraneous Way and Grotto; I there found a Spring of the clearest Water, which falls in a perpetual Rill, that echoes thro' the Cavern day and night. From the River Thames, you see thro' my Arch a Walk of the Wilderness to a kind of open Temple, wholly compos'd of Shells in the Rustic Manner; and from that distance under the Temple you look down thro' a sloping Arcade of Trees, and see the Sails on the River passing suddenly and vanishing thro' a Perspective Glass. When you shut the Doors of this Grott, it becomes on the instant, from a luminous Room, a Camera Obscura; on the Walls of which all the objects of the River, Hills, Woods, and Boats are forming a moving Picture in their visible Radiations: and when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different Scene: it is finished with Shells interspersed with Pieces of Looking-glass in angular forms; and in the Ceiling is a Star of the same Material, at which when a Lamp, (of an orbicular Figure of this Alabaster) is hung in the Middle, a thousand Rays glitter and are reflected over the place. There are connected to this Grotto by a narrower Passage two Porches, with Niches and Seats; one towards the Arch of Trees, rough with Shells, Flints, and Iron Ore. The Bottom is paved with simple Pebble, as the adjoining Walk up the Wilderness to the Temple is to be Cocking Shells, in the natural Taste, agreeing not ill with the little dripping Murmur, and the Aquatic Idea of the whole Place.[12]

The grotto permits the entry of the outer world through the device of the "Perspective Glass," by shutting the door one transforms it into a Camera Obscura and by lighting the lamp one turns it into a magic cave. Pope had devised the means to shut out the outer world and live in a fantasy, imaginary world, without being cut off completely.

At the entrance to the grotto were various sorts of stones "thrown promiscuously together, in imitation of an old Ruin" [13] and near the grotto stood the temple. This temple was a version of the

[12] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), II, 296.

[13] Sitwell, p. 147.

Gothic, in the rustic manner, completed in 1725. This structure collapsed ten years later, but was rebuilt by Pope. In the Newcastle General Magazine there was a description of this second version of the Temple:

> In passing out of the grotto we enter into a Wilderness, and have in view directly before us a Rotundo, or kind of Temple, entirely compos'd of Shells, and consisting wholly of a Cupola, or Dome, supported upon rustick Columns, so as to leave it open every Way to the surrounding Garden.[14]

This Shell Temple was a circular structure with a dome resting on curved rusticated columns and is another instance of Pope's expression of natural architecture:

> I have sometimes had an idea of planting an old Gothic cathedral, or rather some old Roman Temple, in trees. Good large poplars, with their white stems, cleared of boughs to a proper height, would serve very well for the columns and might form the different aisles, or peristiliums, by their different instances and heights. These would look very well near, and the dome, rising all in proper tuft in the middle would look well at a distance.[15]

The importance of the Shell Temple, built in close proximity to the Grotto, lies in its being a close imitation of Nature, achieved through the use of the shells, which compose the Temple and its "rustick Columns," the latter resembling cleared trees. Some of the shells, being a true image of Nature in their variety and irregularity, were given to Pope by Hill:

> In the mean time, be so good to accept this small parcel, just enough, (if there is yet to come, of the season, half a week of dry weather without frost), to embellish your marine temple, by inserting them, among the Hollows, between those large shells, which compose it: where being plac'd in oblique position, so as to lie open to the weather, they will enlighten the gravity, and catch a distant eye, with a kind of shining propriety.[16]

[14] Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Alexander Pope (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 239-240.

[15] Spence, I, No. 619.

[16] Sherburn, III, 393.

Some years later work on the grotto was continued, this time with the assistance of William Borlase, the well-known antiquarian, gardener and collector of minerals and crystals. In one of his letters to Borlase, Pope not only thanks him for his help but also states his intention:

> I ought to take this Occasion of thanking you for so obliging a Testimony as you are giving me of your Inclination to assist me; and surely, the warm and particular Manner in which you do me this favor, deserv'd a more ready Acknowledgment. But I find this morning, (the first day I arrived here) that your Bounty, like that of Nature, confounds all choice. But as I would imitate rather her Variety, than make Ostentation of what we call her Riches, I shall be satisfy'd if you make your next Cargo consist more of such Ores or Sparrs as are beautiful, & not too difficult to come at, than of the Scarce & valuable kinds.[17]

Pope ends this letter by asking Borlase once more for advice and instruction, for he "would be glad to make the Place resemble Nature in all her workings," a principle he also mentioned to Dr. Oliver: "The day I receive what he (Borlase) can send me, it being my Work & Hope it will be the best Imitation of Nature I ever made. In these sort of Works we may pretend to understand her better than in her Animal, much less in her Rational Productions." [18]

Pope's two main guiding principles in the building of the grotto are to imitate Nature's variety and "to make the Place resemble Nature in all her workings." The grotto became a naturalistic work of art through the use of natural materials and through its layout, which was based on variety, surprise and concealment of the bounds, a principle revealed in Nature herself. Pope's grotto is "ein organisches Kunstwerk" and "bedeutet geistesgeschichtlich einen Wendepunkt."[19]

Although Pope gratefully accepted Borlase's assistance, the extent of his contribution of stones, gems, etc. made him uncomfortable. Pope was aware of the fact that "in taking his advice, I do not make him the poorer; but I fear that in taking more of his Collections I may. And therefore shall hardly have the conscience to trouble him

[17] Sherburn, IV, 228.
[18] Sherburn, IV, 229.
[19] Dobai, p. 173.

for another cargo how much soever I am unprovided." [20]

The description of the half finished grotto Pope sent to Borlase indicates its naturalistic character:

> I deferr'd to you 'till I should form a guess how far your materials would go in the work, which is half finished, the ruder parts entirely so; in its present condition it is quite natural, and can only admit of more beauties by the Glitter of more minerals, not the disposition or manner of placing them, with which I am quite satisfy'd. I have managed the Roof so as to admit of the larger as well as smaller pendulous (crystals); the sides are strata of various, beautiful, but rude Marbles, between which run the Lodes of Metal, East and West, and in the pavement also, in the direction of the Grotto happening to lie. And I have opened the whole into one Room, groin'd above from pillar to pillar (not of a regular architecture, but like supporters left in a Quarry), but which means there is a fuller light cast into all, but the narrow passage.[21]

The naturalistic character of the grotto is achieved through the materials, stones, marbles, etc., mainly unpolished, showing their natural condition and through the layout of the interior of the grotto, which resembled a quarry.

Allan of Bath also supplied Pope with materials for the grotto:

> Just now I hear of another Cargo of your Stone for my Grotto. I may properly be said to be loaded with your favours, but that they may not be heap'd upon my head. I have taken care to secure them by many Cramps: and as soon as I get a few more things from Cornwall, I shall finish this last of the laborious Baubles of my life.[22]

When the grotto was nearly finished Pope invited Bolingbroke to come and stay. His letter of invitation also stated the purpose of the grotto:

> Next to parching up my Constitution, my great Business has been to parch up a Grotto (the same You have so often sate in the Sunny part of under my house,) with all the varieties of Nature's works under ground - Spars, Minerals & Marbles. I hope yet to live to philosophize with You in

[20] Sherburn, IV, 244.

[21] Sherburn, IV, 245-246.

[22] Sherburn, IV, 253.

> this Museum, which is now a Study for Virtuosi, & a Scene for contemplation.[23]

The grotto became a "scene for contemplation" to study the works of Nature. Work on the grotto continued throughout the year 1740 and it was completed mainly in the autumn:

> My whole Amusement this Autumn has been my Grotto, which proved a laborious Work, but is now ended, all but the pavement, I have conveyed into it three falls of water, which break very naturally over two Rocks of Cornish Diamonds, & Plymouth Marbles, and murmur in a Cavern till they run out of sight.[24]

Although the interior of the grotto was finished, the outward façade still needed work."I have entirely finished all except the Outward Façade, which my Lord Burlington opiniates should be of the same Materials, Plymouth Marbles & Sparrs, but here my Stores fail: I have not a Stone, nor a Diamond of Minerals left." [25]

Dr. Oliver, to whom the above quoted letter was addressed, answered almost immediately: "I must beg of you to let me know particularly what Quantity of Marble Sparr or Diamonds you want for the finishing of the Façade, and I will immediately desire my Friends to supply you with all Expedition."[26]

Work on the outer façade of the grotto was resumed in the spring of 1741: "I told you my Grotto was finished, and now all that wants to the Completion of my Garden is the Frontispiece to it, of your rude stones to build a sort of ruinous Arch at the Entry into it on the Garden Site."[27] The entrance to the grotto from the garden site had to be a sort of "ruinous Arch" made of various stones "thrown promiscuously together, in imitation of an old Ruin." [28] The fact that the entrance to the grotto resembled an old ruin was the result of the basic idea of the grotto itself, which exhibited unfinished Nature. Furthermore, this entrance being ruinous "suggested the transitory nature of human pomp, the futility of human accomplishments and em-

[23] Sherburn, IV, 261.
[24] Sherburn, IV, 267.
[25] Sherburn, IV, 279.
[26] Sherburn, IV, 281.
[27] Sherburn, IV, 343.
[28] Sitwell, p. 147.

phasized the fact that the paths of glory lead but to the grave." [29] The grotto itself, being underneath the earth, carried the association with a grave. The entrance to the grotto opened the mind for contemplation of the brevity of human works and the longevity of Nature's products, like the stones, marbles, and crystals.

One of the last things we hear about the grotto is the mention of a gift from Sir Sloane:

> I am extremely obliged to you for your Intended Kindness of furnishing my Grotto with that surprizing Natural Curiosity, which indeed I have ardently sought for some time. But I would much rather part with Every thing of this Sort which I have collected, than deprive your most Copious Collection of One thing what may be wanting to it. If you can spare it, I shall be double pleased in having it, & owing it to you.[30]

The time and effort spent on the grotto indicate its importance for Pope. It had not only become a living memorial to his friends, owing to their various contributions, but it also realised the principles of an organic and natural architecture. By employing natural materials and observing the principles of variety and irregularity, Pope had made the grotto a natural work of art. It was the first time that the aesthetics of the picturesque garden, variety and irregularity, had been applied to architecture. The application of these principles would eventually lead to the Gothic movement, and through the grotto Pope secures his place as a Pre-Romanticist. Pope's grotto expressed his belief in Nature and in its beauty, but also in the transitory nature of human works.

[29] Warren H. Smith, Architecture in English Fiction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 19.

[30] Sherburn, IV, 391.

Chapter Three: The Gothic

Although the Gothic and some of its characteristics have been mentioned previously, a careful discussion of its re-discovery by the antiquarians in the second half of the seventeenth century, its negative assessment at the beginning of the eighteenth century and a theory of its origin are still required. The re-discovery of the Gothic was mainly the achievement of the antiquarians Sir William Dugdale and his associate Roger Dodsworth with the publication of their The Antiquities of Warwickshire and the Monasticon Anglicanum in 1655. The idea of a Monasticon Anglicanum was originally conceived by Spelman, one of the earliest medievalists. Owing to his advanced age, Spelman was unable to execute the project. Dodsworth seemed to be the suitable man for the project, after all, he had discovered the greater part of the documents and was doing philological work on them. However, he lacked the ability to organise the enormous body of material. Dugdale took it in hand, and the edition was later known under his name only. The first two volumes were published under both names, the third was published by Dugdale alone after the death of Dodsworth, simply under his own name. Since stealing a whole folio is a record achievement, Dugdale has the dubious distinction of being scholarship's greatest plagiarist.[1]

The Monasticon was the first illustrated history of the medieval style: the cathedrals of Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Durham, Malmesbury, Westminster, Peterborough and Ely are discussed in great detail. Not one important example of the English Gothic is omitted. The interest in this work is obvious from the number of its reprints; two supplementary volumes were published in 1722, and a revised edition was prepared in the nineteenth century.

Dugdale's work exerted great influence on other antiquarians and on the general public as well, as it "stimulated other Englishmen to

[1] Paul Frankl, The Gothic, Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 351.

view their native land through the eyes of an archeologist and with the heart of a Romanticist who savors the melancholy of ruins as a personal memento mori and at the same time also protests vigorously against all unintelligent destruction." [2]

Anthony à Wood, after having read the Antiquities of Warwickshire, decided to do for Oxford and its surrounding country what Dugdale had done for Warwickshire. Wood visited the ruins of the abbey of Malmesbury in 1678, and wrote down the following impression:

> The porch ... is the most stately and costly carved piece of work that my eyes ever beheld, carrying with it also a very venerable face of antiquity. It is broad without-side and by degrees as you enter is lesser, and upon the columns that so lessen the entry are well carved little scripture stories in every little part of each column. When I entered the church I had a strong veneration come upon me to see the ruins of such a majestic and gigantic pile, with windows over windows and walks over walks in the walls, stately pillars and curious carved wood everywhere.[3]

Wood attributes to this example of Gothic architecture the epithet "venerable", and this mark of esteem for this architecture was also used by Pope in the account of his visit to Oxford, of which he said: "All this was no ill preparation to the life I have led since; among those old walls, venerable Galleries, Stone Portico's, studious walks & solitary Scenes of the University." [4]

Anthony à Wood not only presents his readers with a careful architectural description of the abbey, he also invests architecture with a mood: the ruins of the abbey call forth "a strange veneration". Although Wood's efforts to describe the antiquities of Oxfordshire deserve praise, his university colleagues were of a different opinion: "The fellows at Merton would not let me live in the college, for fear I should pluck it down to search after antiquities, that I was so great a lover of antiquities, that I loved to live in an old cockeloft rather than a spacious chamber." [5]

[2] Frankl, p. 356.

[3] B. Sprague Allen, Tides in English Taste (New York: Pageant Books, 1958), II, 51.

[4] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 430.

[5] Allen, II, 89.

In Oxford, a small circle of antiquarians established itself, having its centre at the Bodleian Library. From 1660 onwards there was a steady flow of County Histories and Local Antiquities. In London, the Society of Antiquarians was revived in 1717, meeting weekly at the Young Devil Tavern in Fleet Street. The principal concern of the Society was the study of the antiquities of Great Britain, the term 'antiquities' including all buildings antecedent to the reign of James I. The importance of the societies lies in their publications, through which they communicated an understanding and appreciation of earlier architectural modes of building. Although the societies did excellent work in researching medieval buildings, thereby preserving these memorials of the past for the future, they were often ridiculed by their contemporaries. One society was exposed as ignorant by George Steevens, the Shakespeare scholar, who

> fabricated an inscribed stone, supposedly in commemoration of Hardicanute, on which his sudden death was attributed to over-drinking at the wedding of a Danish lord. After the inscription had occasioned a learned disquisition and had been identified as work of the eleventh century, Steevens with cruel hilarity exposed the hoax in the General 'Evening Post.' [6]

One of the demands of the antiquarians was uniformity of style. They, like Sir Christopher Wren, considered it bad taste to force Classical features on a medieval building. Wren, demanding the restoration of Westminster Abbey, had made a design for the purpose:

> Still in the Gothic form, and of a style with the rest of the building, which I would strictly adhere to, throughout the whole intention; to deviate from the old form would be to run into a disagreeable mixture, which no person of good taste could relish.[7]

This demand for uniformity in style, be it Classical or Gothic, was to some extent disregarded in the 1740s. Batty Langley actually considered a fusion of Classical and Gothic architecture feasible. The titles of his books on architecture illustrate this notion:

[6] Allen II, 91.

[7] Arthur Lovejoy, Essays in the History of Ideas (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1948), p 431.

Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions, and Ancient Architecture, Restored and Improved by a great Variety of grand and useful Designs, entirely new, in the Gothic Mood, in which he attempted to rationalise the Gothic style into a system of orders, which shows a singular misunderstanding of the Gothic on his part. Instead of a true revival of a medieval architectural style, Langley attempted to fuse two utterly incongruous architectural modes of building.

The influence exerted by the Society of Antiquarians directly on architects is too uncertain to assess. However, two architects who must have been familiar with the publications of the Society did use medieval elements in domestic architecture.

Sir John Vanbrugh was the first architect to adopt one of the characteristic elements of the Gothic, asymmetry, and to use it on his own dwelling, which was built around 1718. Vanbrugh Castle was carefully analysed by both Professor Summerson and Professor Pevsner, who both arrived at the conclusion that Vanbrugh Castle had originally been a small symmetrical house, developed incidentally on a pattern of Elizabethan inspiration. The conversion of a symmetrical unit into an asymmetrical one took place in 1718 and "Vanbrugh in the medievalizing lack of regularity in his own houses remained apparently without successor for a whole generation." [8] Vanbrugh not only built the first asymmetrical house in the eighteenth century, he also played an important part in the picturesque movement; according to the painter Reynolds:

> I can pretend no skill in the details of architecture, I judge now of art merely as a painter. When I speak of Vanbrugh, I mean to speak of him in the language of a painter. He had originality of invention, he understood light and shadow, and had great skill in composition. To support his principle object he produced second and third groups of masses, he perfectly understood in his art what is most difficult in ours, the conduct of the background, by which the design and invention is set off to the greatest advantage. What the background is in painting, in architecture is the real ground on which the building is erected, and no architect took greater care than he that his work should not appear hard and crude, that is, it did not abruptly

[8] Nikolaus Pevsner, Studies in Art, Architecture and Design (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), pp. 110-111.

> start out of the ground without expectation or preparation. This is a tribute which a painter owes to an architect who composed like a painter.[9]

Reynolds recognised the intricate relationship between architecture and gardening, both carried out according to picturesque principles.

William Kent's work is based on a similar relationship. His familiarity with the Gothic may have been partly due to Lord Burlington, whose protêgê he was, and who probably introduced him to the scholarly Gothicist James Essex. Some of Kent's sympathies for the Gothic may even have been derived from Lord Burlington who, although a staunch supporter of Palladianism, could also recognise the beauty of the Gothic. James Essex, delivering an address to the Society of Antiquarians, revealed Burlington's opinion of Lincoln Cathedral:

> I have his Lordship's leave to say that this is by far the noblest Gothic structure in England, and York in no degree comparable to it. He even prefers our west front to anything of the kind in Europe, and says that whoever had the conducting of it, was well acquainted with the noblest building of old Rome, and has united some of their greatest beauties in that one work.[10]

Burlington's sympathy for Classical architecture reveals itself even in this pro Gothic statement. In Burlington's opinion the architect of this Gothic church was inspired by Classical architecture, and some of its beauties were adapted to suit Gothic architecture.

Kent's best known architectural work in the Gothic style is George II's Gateway at Hampton Court, the inside of which is unmistakably Jacobean. Kent's use of the Gothic was not very positively assessed by Lord Dacre, brother-in-law of Lord Burlington, who wrote to Sanderson Miller: "You'll soon eclipse Mr. Kent, especially in the Gothic way, in which to my mind he succeeds very ill." [11]

[9] J. Reynolds, "13th Discourse", as quoted in Pevsner, Studies in Art, Architecture and Design, p. 129.

[10] Allen, II, 64.

[11] Lovejoy, p. 433.

Although Pope does not give us a proper account of Kent's work, he does write the following characterisation of Kent to Burlington:

> It wants only a few Temples & Ornaments of Building, which I am contriving, in defect of better architects (who are a Rare & Uncommon Generation, not born in every Family) or rather to prevent a wild Goth, whom I think they call Kent, (from a country which has ever held no part of Christendome) I am told this man hath suggested an odd thing, which thro' his Violence of Temper and Ungovernable Spirit of Dominion (natural to all Goths) he will unfallibly erect.[12]

Interesting in Pope's letter is the fact that he attributes to Kent a"violence of Temper" and an "Ungovernable Spirit of Dominion," characteristics which also find their expression the Gothic architectural style with its lack of restraint, its emotional appeal and its freedom from Classical rules. This letter also indicates that Pope had a clear understanding of the essence of the Gothic style.

The Gothic architectural style was already employed in architecture before Walpole built his well known castle, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The use of this particular style was mainly the result of its relationship with the picturesque. The popularity and use of this style remained restricted, as the change in the conception of Nature had not yet been clearly defined.

The reception of the Gothic, which initially was to some extent positive, was countered at the beginning of the eighteenth century by negative responses full of disdain for this architectural style and comparing it unfavourably with the Classical style. Addison attacked the Gothic in The Spectator (No. 415, 172):

> Let any one reflect on the disposition of mind he finds himself, at his first entrance into the Pantheon at Rome, and how the imagination is filled with something great and amazing; and, at the same time, consider how little, in proportion he is affected with the inside of a Gothic cathedral, though it be five times larger than the other, which can arise from nothing else but the greatness of the manner in the one, and the meanness in the other.

The emotion felt by Anthony à Wood upon entering the cathedral of Malmesbury is experienced by Addison in the Pantheon. Another point

[12] Sherburn, III, 417.

of criticism was the richness of the Gothic order in ornamentation:

> I look upon these writers (who are forced to hunt after foreign ornaments) as Goths in poetry, who like those in architecture, not being able to come up to the beautiful simplicity of the old Greeks and Romans, have endeavoured to supply its place with the extravagancies of an irregular fancy.[13]

This aspect of the Gothic style was also the main reason for Montesquieu's dislike of the Gothic:

> Gothic architecture appears to be very full of variety, but the confusion of the ornaments fatigues us by reason of their smallness, which prevents us from distinguishing one from another, and by reason of their number of which the effect is that there is none upon which the eye can come to rest. Thus this architecture is displeasing in the very features of it which were designed to render it agreeable. A building in the Gothic order is a sort of enigma for the eye that looks upon it, and the mind is embarrassed, as when one puts before it an obscure poem.[14]

The Gothic's chief offence was that it was not drawn from Nature, as Berkeley in Alciphron (I, 3) put it quite clearly:

> The beauty of a Grecian temple ariseth from the appearance of use, or the imitation of natural things whose beauty is originally founded in the same principle. Which is, indeed, the grand distinction between Grecian and Gothic architecture, the latter being fantastical, and for the most part being founded neither in Nature nor reason, neither necessity nor use.[15]

The negative opinion of the Gothic had its roots in the art tradition of the fifteenth century, based on the theory of the 'Three Ages of Art'. This theory divided civilisation into the golden age of Classical art, the decay of art in the Middle Ages, and the rebirth of the arts in the Italian Renaissance. The decay of the arts in the Middle Ages was due to the inventors of the Gothic style, who were regarded as barbarians by the theorists of the Italian Renaissance. The employment of the Gothic style, often referred to as the 'usanza moderna', is discouraged in most Renaissance art treatises.

[13] The Spectator, II, No. 62.
[14] Lovejoy, p. 426.
[15] Lovejoy, p. 425.

Filaretti, a contemporary of Ghiberti, writes about the 'usanza moderna':

> I beg everyone to give up this modern style, and do not let yourselves be advised by those masters who employ this botchery. Cursed be he who invented it. I believe it was none other than the barbarians who introduced it to Italy.[16]

The identity of the inventors of the 'usanza moderna' is not quite clear. In the anonymous life of Brunelleschi, probably written by Antonio Manetti, this style was attributed to German builders:

> When the barbarians overran Italy they brought with them craftsmen from the people they had conquered, and especially from Germany to help out their own incapacity. And these craftsmen filled all Italy with buildings constructed in their manner. After Charlemagne had temporarily introduced a better style the architects reverted to the German manner of building, which then prevailed until the time of Brunelleschi.[17]

The origins of the 'Maniera Tedesca' are discussed in a dedicatory epistle to Leo X, formerly attributed to Raphael, dated about 1519. His conception was that the origin of the 'Maniera Tedesca' is to be found in bent branches of trees tied together, which gave the form of a pointed arch.

The most vigorous voice in the condemnation of the Gothic was Vasari's, who in The Lives of the most excellent Italian Architects, Painters and Sculptors (1550) discussed this style. Although he calls this architectural style 'Maniera Tedesca' he considers its inventors to be the Goths, the destroyers of Roman antiquities:

> Es gibt Werke einer anderen Art, die 'deutsch' genannt werden und welche sich in den Ornamenten und in der Proportion von den alten und modernen sehr unterscheiden..... Diese Manier wurde von den Goten erfunden, welche, weil sie die alten Gebäude zerstört hatten und weil die Architekten während der Kriege ausgestorben waren, von denen, die überlebten, die Gebäude in dieser Manier errichten ließen; sie konstruierten nun die Gewölbe mit (breiten) Spitzbögen über dem viergeteilten Kreisdurchmesser und füllten ganz Italien mit diesen verfluchten Gebäuden,

[16] William D. Robson-Scott, The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 4.

[17] Robson-Scott, p. 4.

> deren ganze Bauart verlassen worden ist, um keine mehr zu machen.[18]

In the western part of Europe the origin of the epithet'Gothic' as an architectural term was traced to the Jesuit Renaissance of Gothic architecture in the Spanish Netherlands at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The use of the term Gothic as applied to architecture is ambiguous: It could indicate Romanesque, Gothic, or medieval architecture in general. Gothic is sometimes "employed purely descriptively as a stylistic term, while at other times it carries with it the implication of barbarous."[19] One of the first known positive utterances on and a real understanding of the Gothic is to be found in Hermann Crombach's History of the Three Kings of Cologne (1654). Crombach justifies those architectural elements Vasari felt compelled to condemn:

> The proportions of the whole and parts obey no fixed rules of Ionic, Corinthian, or Composite style, but rather Gothic practice. Thus the builder's art has succeeded in expressing all his ideas, with the greatest technical skill, so that the whole seems to rival Nature herself, while yet observing an absolutely just proportion between all its parts.[20]

Crombach's positive approach towards the Gothic has its origin in his recognition of the beauty of the Gothic, its technique and its rivalry with Nature, which implies an understanding of the Gothic as an expression of Nature.

In England the origin of the Gothic was traced to the Goths, the Lombards and the Saracens. Henry Wotton in Elements of Architecture (1642) "attributed the invention of the pointed arch to the Goths or the Lombards, thus representing and propagating in England the theory that had originated in England."[21] Wotton states that the pointed arch "both for the natural imbecility of the sharp angle itself, and likewise for their very Uncomeliness, ought to be exciled from judicious eyes and left to their first inventors, the Goths or

[18] Georg Germann, Neugotik, Geschichte ihrer Architekturtheorie, (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1974), p. 36.

[19] Robson-Scott, p. 8.

[20] Robson-Scott, p. 23.

[21] Frankl, p. 358.

the Lombards, amongst other Reliques of that barbarous Age."[22] Wotton's attitude towards the Gothic is as negative as Vasari's.

Evelyn in his Account of Architects and Architecture (1697) puts forward a dual theory on the origins of the Gothic. After the destruction of the Greek and Roman civilisations, the Goths, Vandals and other barbarians introduced a new architectural style, which Evelyn described as "a certain fantastical and licentious Manner of Building." Following those people of the north, the people of the south and east, Moors and Arabs overran the civilised world and introduced their mode of building, also characterised by arched roofs and heavy ornamentation. Evelyn's theory of the origin of the Gothic echoes partly the earlier Italian ones. He also calls the Gothic "modern", which is a reminder of the 'usanza moderna' of Manetti. Even his criticism recalls earlier ones: lack of proportion and an emphasis on embellishments. Evelyn's criticism of the Gothic reaches its climax in his description of King Henry the Eighth's Chapel at Westminster:

> I dare Report my self and to any Men of Judgment, and that has the least Taste of Order and Magnificence; it after he has Look'd a while Upon King Henry the VIII's Chapel at Westminster; Gaz'd on its sharp Angles, Jetties, Narrow Lights, lame Statues, Lace and other Cut-work, and Crinkle Crankle, and shall then turn his eye on the Banqueting House built at Whitehall by Inigo Jones after the Antient Manner; or on his Majesties present Surveyor Sir Christopher Wren has lately advanc'd at St Paul's .... I say, let him well consider and compare them judiciously, without Partiality and Prejudice; and then Pronounce, which of the two Manners strikes the Understanding as well as the Eye with the more Majesty, and solemn Greatness.[23]

Evelyn's criticism is especially directed towards

> the Universal and unreasonable Thickness of the Walls, Clumsy Buttresses, Towers, sharp pointed Arches, Doors, and other Apertures, without Proportion.... Turrets and Pinnacles, thick set with Munkies and Chimaeras.... dissipate, and break the Angles of the Sight, and so confound it with any Steadiness, where to begin or end.[24]

[22] Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (London: Redwood Burn, 1974) p. 14.

[23] Allen, II, 46.

[24] Allen, II, 46.

However, there are also some positive remarks made by Evelyn on the Gothic. Of York Cathedral he wrote, "A most entire and magnificent piece of Gothic architecture" and Kenneth Clark states: "I could find many instances of sincere admiration."[25] How is this ambivalent attitude towards the Gothic on the part of Evelyn and others to be explained? Thompson offers a possible explanation for this phenomenon:

> But while we conceive of the Gothic romance as evoking that supernatural sense of mystery associated with the dark interior of a cathedral, the earliest meanings of the English word Gothic involved an elementary kind of aesthetic and cultural disapproval based on imprecise historical hypotheses. The effect of such structures on the human mind, they thought, was a barbarous "confusion." In retrospect, however, this 18th century response can be seen as reflective of the consistent duality found also in the Gothic literature of the end of the century: on the one hand, the sublime evoked the thrill of mystery and power, the aspiration upward toward God; on the other hand, it evoked a ponderous, depressing sense of somber gloom, as well as terror engendered by such demonic ornamentation as base figures and gargoyles without and within the cathedral.[26]

Gothic architecture invited a response which disturbed the Newtonian concept of the universe as a well-ordered unity, and threatened the pervading harmony of the cosmos. Classical architecture illustrates universal harmony owing to its adherence to the rules of proportion, symmetry and order; whereas the Gothic confuses.

Sir Christopher Wren, to whom Evelyn's treatise was dedicated, also traced the origin of the Gothic to the Goths and Saracens, emphasising the Arabic origin in his Report on the State of Westminster Abbey (1713):

> This what we now call the Gothic manner of architecture (so the Italians what was not after the Roman style), though the Goths were rather destroyers than builders; I think it should with more reason be called the Saracen style, for these people wanted neither arts nor learning, and after we in the west lost both, we borrowed again from them, out of their Arabic books, what they had with great diligence translated from the Greek.[27]

[25] Clark, p.25.

[26] G.R. Thompson, ed., The Gothic Imagination, Essays in Dark Romanticism (Washington: Washington State University Press, 1974), p.4.

[27] Frankl, p. 364.

After Wren, this theory of the Arabic origin of the Gothic takes its place beside the old barbarian and forest theory: "It might be supposed that a derivation from the treeless deserts of Arabia would eliminate the forest theory, but both ideas lived on in peaceful juxtaposition, sometimes even in combination." [28]

However, the Arabic theory of origin lost its impact as soon as it was realised that the Gothic and Nature were more closely related than was previously thought. Great influence on the conception of the Gothic and its relationship with Nature was exerted by the idea that the origin of the 'Maniera Tedesca' is to be found in the bent branches of trees tied together, which gave the form of a pointed arch. This mimesis theory is used by Bramante in explaining the origin of the Gothic: "Übrigens soll ihre Architektur (die der Deutschen) folgenden Ursprung haben: Sie entstand aus ungefällten Bäumen, deren Äste, zusammengebogen und gebunden, ihre Spitzbögen ergaben." [29]

This mimesis theory was first applied by Vitruvius when discussing the origins of Classical architecture. He taught "that the Doric order was developed from a timber prototype and from this it was argued that the original temples had had tree trunks and were thus derived from the primitive forest." [30]

Bramante, then, traced the origin of this much disliked architectural style to the same source as the Classical, derived from Nature. Bramante's theory was repeated by Philibert de l'Orme in his Architecture (1648): "Wäre es nicht angenehm, über den genannten Säulen Äste zu sehen, die sich zusammenfügen, um Gewölbe und Bogen zu bilden." [31] This mimesis theory was propagated by Stukeley, Warburton and Pope in England. Stukeley in Itinerarium Curiosum (1824) wrote after having visited the cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral:

> Nothing could have made me so much in love with Gothic architecture, and I judge for a gallery, library, or the like, 'tis the best manner of building because the idea

[28] Frankl, p.365.

[29] Germann, p. 29.

[30] John Summerson, The Classical Language of Architecture (London: Methuen & Co., 1964), p. 34.

[31] Germann, p. 27.

> of it is taken from a walk of trees, whose touching heads are curiously imitated by the roof.[32]

Warburton is even more explicit:

> For could the Arches be otherwise than pointed when the Workman was to imitate that curve which branches make by their intersection with one another. Or could the Columns be otherwise than split into distinct shafts, when they were to represent the Stems of a group of Trees; on the same principle was formed the spreading ramification of the stonework in the windows, and the stained glass in the interstices; the one ending to represent the branches and the other the leaves of an opening grove, and both concurring to preserve that gloomy inspiring religious horror.[33]

The analogy between the Gothic and Nature is drawn by Pope in the"Imitation of Cowley, The Garden": "Here aged trees Cathedral walks compose" (l. 13) and in his conversation with Spence:

> I have sometimes had an idea of planting an old Gothic cathedral, or rather some old Roman temple, in trees. Good large poplars, with their white stems, cleared of boughs to a proper height, would serve very well for the columns, and might even form different aisles, or peristiliums, by their different distances and heights. These would look very well near, and the dome rising all in proper tuft in the middle, would look as well at a distance.[34]

Spence also recorded Pope's utterances on the mimesis theory:

> The Goths overran Spain, but yearned for their native woods and so invented a new architecture, 'pon principles and ideas much nobler than what had given birth to classical magnificence by which their buildings resemble groves as nearly as architecture can.

For Pope, the Gothic is a closer imitation of Nature than Classical architecture and therefore "nobler than classical magnificence." Thanks to the mimesis theory the Gothic was being naturalised, aided by the fact that"the qualities which had long been re-

[32] Lovejoy, p. 435.

[33] William Warburton, ed., Alexander Pope, The Works in Nine Volumes Complete (London: NP, 1751), III, 268.

[34] Spence, I, No. 619.

garded as the characteristic deformities of Gothic art, were precisely those which it had the fashion to deem the highest virtues in garden design."[35] Gothic architectural elements, like asymmetry, irregularity and variety were expounded by Pope as being the essential elements of the landscape garden:

> He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds,
> Surprizes, varies,and conceals the Bounds.
>
> (Epistle to Burlington, ll. 55,56)

The characteristics of Classical architecture, on the other hand, such as symmetry and regularity were considered to be aspects of inverted Nature in garden layout:

> On ev'ry side you look, behold the Wall!
> No pleasing Intricacies intervene,
> No artful wildness to perplex the scene;
> Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,
> And half the platform just reflects the other.
>
> (Epistle to Burlington, ll. 114-118)

Gothic architecture came to be accepted, primarily because of the mimesis theory, which showed the intricate relationship between Nature and architecture, and secondarily through gardening, in which certain Gothic qualities were essential elements, these being natural qualities. The Gothic architectural revival was greatly advanced by the natural landscape movement, in which Alexander Pope played such a prominent part.

[35] Lovejoy, p. 438.

Chapter Four: From Gothic Survival to Gothic Revival

The central theme of this chapter is the analysis of the relationship which exists between architecture and its political and social environment. Architecture expresses a certain mode of living. Its design and layout call for a particular social behaviour. The proper way to live with regard to one's social environment was the topic of Pope's Moral Epistles, which will therefore occupy a place of central importance in this discussion.

These Moral Epistles were originally conceived as a unit. Spence reveals in 1730 that Pope "is now employed in a large design of a moral poem."[1] They did not, however, materialise as one poem but were eventually divided into the Essay on Man and the Four Epistles to Several Persons, all of which are interrelated by virtue of their basic theme: the proper way of life, or the relationship of man with his fellow human beings. In this chapter it will be shown that the understanding of this relationship influenced architectural design.

The idea of writing these Moral Epistles had come to Pope in 1725 and he revealed to Swift that his future poetry would contain "a useful investigation of my own territories .... something domestic, fit for my own country and my own time."[2]

Pope made this statement eleven years after the decease of Queen Anne, whose death marked the beginning of a new period, socially and politically. The period before 1714 was one of tranquillity and social stability, established after the Glorious Revolution. Industry and trade flourished, particularly as English trade was

[1] Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men, ed. J.M. Osborn (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1966), I, No. 293.

[2] Robert W. Rogers, "The Major Satires of Alexander Pope," in Illionis Studies in Language and Literature, No. 40, p. 1 (1955).

unhindered by internal duties and customs. Industry and agriculture benefited from the improvement of waterways and roads. Socially, Anne's reign was not marked by great differences between freeholders and tenants.[3] A special rôle was played by the squirarchy:

> Frenchmen who came to England in the early 18th century pointed to the class of squires as a unique feature of English society and the secret of their political stability. A class distinct from the great territorial aristocracy on the one hand and the smaller freeholder and tenant farmer on the other.[4]

In the arts the analogy between Anne's reign and the reign of the Emperor Augustus still had some validity, although,

> royal patronage was rather limited. But the patronage of such men as Somers and Harley together with their writers of the court and the government made possible a somewhat closer analogy to the favoured position of writers under Augustus.[5]

With the ascent of the Hanoverians to the English throne, the social and political picture changed. This period witnessed the disappearance of the small freeholder, the squire. Together with the disappearance of this traditional section of society went the diminution of land owned by the small squires and the landed gentry, which carried with it social consequences:

> more important than the area of land was the change in social composition of this class. In many villages in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire families settled there for generations were replaced by professional men and tradesmen, whose main interest and sources of income were London and who retired completely to their country houses only later in life.[6]

The concept of the country changed, from a source of income it turned into a place for retirement.The disappearance of the small squires and freeholders was due to various reasons, but especially

[3] G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History (London: Longman Group, 1975), p.294.

[4] H.J. Habakkuk, "English Landownership, 1680-1740," The Economic History Review, No. 10, p. 2 (1939-1949).

[5] R.F. Brissenden, ed., Studies in the 18th Century (Canberra: National University Press, 1968), p.75.

[6] Habakkuk, p.4.

"the heavy landtax of four shillings in the pound to pay for the Whig wars, hit them hard,"[7] and forced several of them to sell their ancestral lands to the newcomers, the professional men, who were keen on purchasing land. The motives of the latter for buying land were social rather than economic:

> they desired to secure land not so much for profitable investment as for the prestige and social power that went with its possession. The ownership of land made it possible to enter country society and often gain a title. It was also a qualification for participation in local government. Equally a position in the central government rested upon the possession of land. Extensive property gave the owners a powerful local influence over the elections.[8]

The limited interestof this social class in the land is best indicated by their hardly carrying out any improvements to it. Most of these were carried out by the large old families whose estates were underdeveloped.[9]

These two social classes, the small squire and the new landowner, are portrayed vividly by Pope in the Epistle to Bathurst. The two main characters of the Epistle are the Man of Ross and Sir Balaam, the Man of Ross representing the type of squire who still esteems the traditional system of values:

> The Man of Ross,' each lisping babe replies.
> Behold the Market-place with poor o'erspread!
> The Man of Ross divides the weekly bread:
> He feeds yon Alms-house, neat, but void of state,
> Where Age and Want sit smiling at the gate:
> Him portion'd maids, apprentic'd orphans blest,
> The young who labour, and the old who rest.
> Is any sick? the Man of Ross relieves,
> prescribes, attends, the med'cine makes, and gives.
>
> (ll. 262-269)

The Man of Ross, as a typical traditional squire, cares for the weak, he feeds them and looks after them, in a way which is "void of state" He still fulfills the traditional assignment of social relief. His opponent is the new rich merchant, typified by Sir Balaam, who "illustrates the corrupting power of wealth in the hands of those

[7] Trevelyan, p. 306.

[8] L.W. Cowie, Hanoverian England, 1714-1837 (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1967), pp. 109-110.

[9] Habakkuk, p.15.

morally unequipped to use it wisely."[10] Sir Balaam is corrupt:

> My Lady falls to play, so had her chance,
> He must repair it; takes a bribe from France;
> The House impeach him; Coningsby harangues;
> The Court forsake him, and Sir Balaam hangs.(11.395-397)

The female counterpart of Sir Balaam is Atossa, portrayed by Pope in the Epistle to a Lady. Pope describes her as a person,

> Who, with herself, or others from her birth
> Finds all her life one warfare upon earth:
> Shines, in exposing Knaves, and painting Fools,
> Yet is, what'er she hates and ridicules. (11. 117-120)

Atossa is not only false and a fool, she also represents, like Sir Balaam, a world full of disorder:

> as the portrait emerges we find that Pope is interested not only in the ethical but also in the social implication of the type Atossa represents. The world in which she moves is one embracing husband and children, superiors, equals and dependants. Such an order can only exist when these groups are bound together by ties of respect, obligation, loyalty, and affection. Atossa in her violent pursuit of ends, ignores these natural means and her world in consequence is one of disorder.[11]

The theme of disorder, more specifically in social relationships, is stated clearly in the description of Cotta's way of life in the country, which differs considerably from that of the Man of Ross: (Epistle to Bathurst)

> Like some lone Chartreux stands the good old Hall,
> Silence without, and fasts within the wall;
> No rafter'd roofs with dance and tabor sound,
> No noon-tide bell invites the country round;
> Tenants with sighs the smoakless tow'rs survey,
> And turn th' unwilling steeds another way:
> Benighted wanderers, the forest o'er,
> Curse the sav'd candle, and unop'ning door;
> While the gaunt mastiff growling at the gate,
> Affrights the beggar whom he longs to eat. (11. 186-196)

Cotta's main offence towards society is his disregard for hospitality extended to the wanderer and the beggar. Hospitality granted to all, which also included caring for the poor, was the Man of Ross's great

[10] Rogers, p. 63.

[11] Rogers, p. 65.

virtue:

> Thrice happy man! enabled to pursue
> What all so wish, but want the pow'r to do!
> Oh say, what sums that gen'rous hand supply?
> What mines, to swell that boundless charity?
> Of Debts, and Taxes, Wife and Children clear,
> This man possest - five hundred pounds a year. (11.274-380

The practice of this traditional virtue is not dependent upon wealth, but upon an innate social morality. Pope's own attitude towards hospitality resembles that of the Man of Ross:

> Content with little, I can piddle here
> On broccoli and mutton, round the year;
> But ancient friends (tho' poor, or out of play)
> That touch my bell, I cannot turn away. [12]

At Pope's door there is no "gaunt mastiff growling," hospitality is extended to all, even with his limited means.

Both Atossa and Sir Balaam are in their social behaviour typical of the Walpolean era, as for Pope as well as for Swift the main characteristic of this period was one of total disorder, expressed in the dissolution of socially dependent units and in corruption. This last aspect was the reigning vice occasioned by a "governing class which has nothing to do except languidly hold their reins of power and divide the spoils." [13]

The greatest scandal in the early years of the Hanoverian reign wasthe South Sea Bubble. Several members of the government and of the House of Commons were involved in this corrupt adventure. Stanhope, secretary to the Treasury escaped conviction for corrupt practices by just three votes, Sunderland was acquitted by a majority of sixty-one votes. James Cragg died of smallpox before he could be brought to trial and his father, the Postmaster General, died in circumstances suggestive of suicide on the eve of the trial. [14]

[12] Alexander Pope, "The Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, to Mr. Bethel," in Pope, Poetical Works, ed. Herbert Davis (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) ll. 137-140.

[13] Leslie Stephen, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century (London: Methuen & Co. 1963), p. 167.

[14] J. Owen, The Eighteenth Century, 1714-1815 (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1974), p. 11 ff.

Walpole tried to do all he could to protect his colleagues in order to prevent the disintegration of his government. The Tories regarded Walpole as "a monster of corruption who defiled everything he touched and who lived by the cynical maxim that every man had his price."[15] Walpole's access to the considerable resources of royal patronage made it possible to bind "to him by a complex network of obligation a sufficient majority of the limited electorate and of both Houses of Parliament to ensure his continuing predominance."[16] The clergy were lethargic and generally had Whig sympathies, since important appointments were given only to those who actively supported the government. The main characteristics of contemporary society were for both Pope and Swift corruption, grossness and dissipation, which rule out any possible relationship to Augustan times, thus invalidating the Augustan analogy.

Within this social and political framework an architectural enterprise was set free which justifies speaking of it as the "building boom of the early 18th century."[17] A languid, pleasure-loving aristocracy and a new class of wealthy merchants and professional men, combined with political stability, set free certain creative resources directed towards expressing the social and political predominance of this class. The expression of this predominance could best be realised in architecture as the most visual statement of the owner's social standing. Between 1710 and 1740 approximately one hundred and fifty large country houses were built, of which:

21 were built between 1710 and 1714,
22 were built between 1715 and 1719,
50 were built between 1720 and 1724,
22 were built between 1712 and 1731,
21 were built between 1731 and 1735 and
11 were built between 1739 and 1740.[18]

The peak of the building boom was reached between the years 1720 and 1724. As Summerson's examination of the available data has shown, of the 120 suitable documented cases, 54 builders were Members

[15] Owen, p. 24.

[16] Owen, p. 24.

[17] John Summerson, "The Classical Country House in the 18th Century," Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, CVII, (1959), 540.

[18] Summerson, p. 540 ff.

of Parliament. From 1710 to 1725 no fewer than 71 per cent of the building commoners were M.P.s.[19] These facts illustrate the correlation between political activity and architectural enterprise. The peak of the building boom corresponds to the highest curve of popularity of the Palladian Movement of the early eighteenth century. The conclusion to be drawn is that the Palladian style was highly favoured by politicians.

In 1715 Campbell published his first volume of Vitruvius Britannicus, expressing his loyalty to Vitruvius, Palladio and their English follower Inigo Jones. In 1717 Volume Two was published. Palladio's architectural writings I Libri Dell' Architettura, edited by Richards, was reprinted in 1716, 1721 and 1724. Palladio's Four Books, edited by Leoni, were published between 1716 and 1720 and reprinted in 1726. The reason for the enormous popularity of Palladio's designs and for their imitation lies in their suitability to express the owner's social and political standing. This architectural style was characterised by its aristocratic elements, perfectly suitable for the Venetian nobleman and the rich merchants, who after the decline of trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries resettled themselves on Terra Ferma. The house functioned as the central headquarters of the agricultural estate, therefore more wings were added to the main house. The house also illustrated the owner's social position, expressed by the central position of the house in relation to the estate, and by the adornment of the front entrance with pillars and the coat of arms of the owner.[20] This particular style, aristocratic and restrained in its use of ornaments, appealed to the members of Whig society, as it fulfilled their requirements for a noble seat and included the association with their Venetian counterparts, and, owing to Palladio's designs being partly based on Vitruvius, with ancient Rome as well. The vastness of the house was especially appealing as it mirrored the greatness of its owner. This was also enhanced by the absolutely symmetrical layout of the house, reflecting the order of society.

However, not all large country houses built in this period were

[19] Summerson, p.541.

[20] James S. Ackerman, Palladio (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1966), p. 81 ff.

in the Palladian style. One of the most outstanding examples is Clearwell Castle in Gloucestershire. This castle may very well be the earliest example of the Gothic Revival on such a large scale. Its architect was Roger Morris, who also built Inverary Castle, a later Gothic Revival example.

The first half of the eighteenth century also witnessed the rise of the professional architect. The important position held in building by the masons, who conducted contracting business in London or in the country, was diminished by the growing importance of the office of the professional architect. This process resulted in a change in architectural style, as the houses built by masons were not very original, but generally copies or adaptations of existing houses. The rise of the architect also meant a divergence from the traditional English house style, since their inspiration was generally drawn from foreign sources.

In the first half of the eighteenth century there existed two different groups of architects, the first group being active around 1710, the second group after 1710. Talman, Hawksmoor, Wren, Vanbrugh, Archer, John James and Thorbill worked mainly before 1710 and used Dutch architectural elements (Talman), Classical ones (Wrenean school) or continental Baroque ones (Vanbrugh). The architects after 1710 belong mainly to the Palladian school, its members were Campbell Burlington, the Earl of Pembroke, Kent, Flitcroft and the two Morrisses. Kent and Roger Morris built in the Gothic style as well. Around 1720 Palladianism reached the zenith of its popularity: Mereworth Castle built in 1720, Lyme Park in 1720, Burlington House begun in 1718, Moor Park in 1720; Houghton Hall, Walpole's vast country seat in Norfolk was begun in 1722 and Chiswick Villa in 1727. As stated previously, this increased building activity corresponded with and was related to the rise in power of the Whig party.

The Palladian style was one of the topics of Pope's Epistle to Burlington. Although Pope dedicated the Epistle to the Earl of Burlington, there is hardly any praise for the architectural style the Earl advocated. A large part of the Epistle voices negative comments: "Fill half the land with Imitating-Fools (l. 26)/ Turn Arcs of Triumph to a Garden-gate (l. 30)/ Proud to catch a cold at a Venetian door (l. 36)." In these lines Pope satirises the false adaptation of Palladian architecture in England. He gives future builders a piece of advice which is most un-Palladian:

> He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds,
> Surprizes, varies, and conceals the Bounds. (ll. 55,56)

Pope applied the basic principles of the natural garden to architecture; to follow this advice in architecture would result in the loss of the well-ordered symmetrical unit typical of Palladian architecture.

The middle part of the Epistle deals with the result of the non-application of these principles, exemplified by Cobham and Timon. The Epistle ends with praise bestowed on Burlington, but only as far as his public building is concerned: "..., or who builds like Boyle. / 'Tis Use alone that sanctifies Expence." (ll. 178, 179). Pope refers in these lines to the Egyptian Hall at York, built by Burlington in 1730. Pope concludes the Epistle by assigning the following task to Burlington:

> You too proceed! make falling Arts your care,
> Erect new wonders, and the old repair;
> Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,
> And be whate'er Vitruvius was before. (ll. 191-194)

Pope urges Burlington to look after the "falling Arts" and more specifically after architecture. Burlington should build "new wonders" and restore the old ones, and he should put a stop to the false imitations of Jones and Palladio. Is Pope telling Burlington to put an end to his interpretation of the architecture of Jones and Palladio and develop a new architectural style, just as Vitruvius did during the reign of Augustus? In fact, Pope recommends Burlington to leave Jones and Palladio in peace and go back to the source of architectural design, Vitruvius. Pope also assigns Burlington the task of realising the Augustan analogy in l. 194, at least in the field of architecture. This analogy had become invalid in other artistic fields: "after 1714, when Pope and Swift did most of their writing, the Augustan analogy became both a literary mockery and a dire historical warning."[21] Pope's lack of belief in this analogy is most clearly phrased in the First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, to Augustus. Pope's version

> is totally different, because the Horatian parallel hardly

[21] Brissenden, p. 78.

> applied either on the literary or the political side. Pope cannot see the development of English poetry and drama as one of continuous improvement or refinement, although he does his best with the poetic reforms of Waller and Dryden, and the moral purity of Roscommon and Addison. Nor can Pope share Horace's easy solidarity with the social, political and literary life of his own time; Pope's poem is primarily destructive.[22]

Pope's Epistle to Burlington was composed at a time when the Palladian boom had already passed its high point but its faults were still obvious. The size of the house and its interior layout did not lend themselves to traditional English life, and its symmetrical design did not reflect Nature.

Six years previous to the Epistle Pope had written the Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear', in which Shakespeare was compared to a Gothic structure, upon which praise was then bestowed, an early example of true appreciation of the Gothic in the early eighteenth century. The basic principle of architecture was for Pope the adherence to the principle of Sense, which implied following the laws of Nature. To follow Nature meant to discard symmetry and the straight line.

The importance of Pope in regard to the early Gothic Revival is twofold: he applied natural forms to architecture, like the Shell Temple and grotto, and he redefined Nature in attributing to her asymmetry and irregularity. The appreciation of Gothic art was based on the acceptance of a kind of aesthetic licence, in which "lovely wildness and irregularity had come to be a merit; and regularity, symmetry and proportion passed for violations of the first and great commandment, to 'follow Nature'." [23]

Pope also had a genuine love of history and ruins, which "combined with a poetic imagination attracted him to buildings very different from the Palladian ones."[24] Pope's love of the Romantic reveals itself in his description of Stanton Harcourt and in his "inclination to tell a fairy tale, the more wild and exotic, the bet-

[22] Brissenden, p.75.

[23] Arthur Lovejoy, Essays in the History of Ideas (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1948), p. 439.

[24] Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 301.

ter."[25] Pope's appreciation of the Gothic was also Romantic in the sense that he cherished the associations attached to the monuments of medieval England. Hussey observes on Pope's description of Stanton Harcourt, that "Pope's description of his abode, so fantastically different from Twickenham are among the earliest romantic appreciations of an ancient building."[26] Pope's liking for Stanton Harcourt based itself upon two different aspects of this country seat. There was its Gothic exterior and its late medieval interior with the great hall, a vivid reminder of the days passed in which hospitality was practised on a large scale towards most members of the community. This very aspect of hospitality, which Pope often emphasised in his Letters and Epistles, places him in direct line with the early country house poets, beginning with Ben Jonson's To Penshurst. At Stanton Harcourt, hospitality was practised in "the great hall...., flank'd on one side with a very long table, a true image of ancient hospitality."[27] The great hall and hospitality were most closely related, the disappearance of the first led to the decline of the latter. Pope's frequent emphasis on this social theme led him to feel a preference for a particular architectural prototype, that of the traditional country house, built in the Gothic or Elizabethan style. Although the great hall was still being built in later Elizabethan days, this period also witnessed the disappearance of the great hall or its functional change. With the rise of the prodigy houses, the very function of the house changed and with this change the need for the traditional hall. It either disappeared altogether or was partitioned off by a heavy curtain or screen. The traditional reception of the workers and other dependants of the estate no longer took place in the hall. There were other reasons for the disappearance of the great hall as well. The decline in housekeeping, which took place in the early seventeenth century, meant that the great hall

[25] Elwin Whitwell and William John Courthope, Introd., The Works of Alexander Pope (London: John Murray, 1886), IX (Correspondence IV) 131-132.

[26] Christopher Hussey, Early Georgian, 1715-1760 (London, John Murray, 1955), p.69.

[27] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 505.

was no longer necessary as a communal dining room. Furthermore, there was the tendency of the landowner to use intermediary officials in dealing with the tenants and servants and "in this he was to cut himself off from a direct contact with the humble day to day activities on the estate."[28] Another social development, not to be underestimated, was the gravitation of the nobility to the court, especially of the younger families.

Architecture in the last decades of the sixteenth century consisted of a mixture of several architectural elements, taken from the Gothic, the Elizabethan and the early Renaissance style in building. The main characteristics of this late sixteenth century architecture were a wealth of clumsy details and grotesque inventions, of which Horace Walpole later said:

> The taste of these mansions was that bastard style which intervened between Gothic and Grecian architecture, or which, was perhaps the style that had been invented for the honour of the nobility when they first ventured on the settlement of the kingdom after the termination of the quarrel between the Roses, to abandon their fortified dungeons and consult convenience and magnificence.[29]

Classical architecture was introduced into England through the publication of The First Book of Architecture by Sebastian Serly issued by Robert Peake of Holborn and by Sir Henry Wotton's Elements of Architecture in the early seventeenth century. Although Wotton based his book on the study of the works of Vitruvius, Palladio and Philibert de l'Orme, he did not accept the Classical mode of building in all its aspects. He criticised the Italian system of placing the doors of reception rooms opposite one another, so that when all were open a long vista was obtained, as it "doth put an intolerable servitude upon all chambers save the inmost."[30]

With the arrival of Inigo Jones on the architectural scene, England had found an architect to put into practice the recently intro-

[28] G.R. Hubbard, "The Country House Poem in the 17th Century," in Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack (Hamden: Archon Books, 1964), p. 406.

[29] Ralph Dutton, The English Country House (London: B.T. Batsford, 1918), p. 45.

[30] Dutton, p. 38.

duced architectural designs of Palladio. Inigo Jones's influence as an architect hardly moved outside court circles, and even there he could not realise all his plans. Outside court circles, the architectural style Jones tried to promote was identified with popery and tyranny, which the country gentry "believed to be the predominant vices of the Caroline court." [31] Jones's influence on architectural development was limited, notwithstanding the eighteenth century revival by Burlington and the praise bestowed on him by Morris in Defence of Ancient Architecture:

> He had in himself something particular, a fine Manner of introducing those Master Strokes of Art, which are the more beautiful and pleasing, as they most resemble Nature in the Design and Execution; in short, he has left such lively Representations of a sublime Genius, that none amongst the Worthy but acknowledge him to be an example fit for our Imitations, and Guides to let us through the unerring Rules of Ancient Architecture, I mean the British Palladio, Inigo Jones.[32]

Jones's lasting contribution to architecture, which was also responsible for the refusal of the country gentry to accept his architectural style, was the introduction of the formal house, which upset all social relationships. The formal house is based on the assumption that the architectural order should reflect the social order. The correct designs for the realisation of this assumption were provided by Palladio and were based on absolute symmetry. The adaptation of Palladian design to the interior of the large English country house led to a change in the function of the great hall. The problem of how to fit the main staircase into a symmetrical floor plan was solved by putting it in the great hall. This made the hall unsuitable for meals, and the servants "were accordingly removed into the servants' hall next to the kitchen in the basement."[33]

Palladio's designs affected first the plan of the house rather than its outward appearance. At the beginning of the seventeenth

[31] L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy: 1558-1641 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 71-72.

[32] Roger Morris, An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture (London: n.p., 1728), p.25.

[33] Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 123.

an architectural development took place which first changed the interior and later on affected the exterior appearance of the house, the internal symmetry was repeated in the façade. In contrast, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the external, natural environment first affected the interior decoration through the adaptation of natural forms, inspired by trees and plants, and this resulted in a gothicising of the interior and exterior appearance of the house.

The house as a representation of the ideal society is obvious in one of the main types of Palladio's plans. In this plan the centre of the house is occupied by two large rooms, one above the other with smaller rooms arranged symmetrically on either side of them. This plan "suggested a central great chamber above a central hall, an exquisitely appropriate arrangement, in which the owner would not only be at the centre of the house, but also immediately above his household." [34]

Inigo Jones's immediate successor, Sir Christopher Wren, did not work in the Palladian manner. He formulated a new architectural style most distinctly his own. Pope's esteem for Wren is indicated in line 329 of the Dunciad: "While Wren with sorrow to his grave descends " whereas Wren's opponent Benson was satirised: "On Poets' Tombs see Benson's titles writ." (1. 325). Wren had been replaced at the office of the Surveyor by Benson, one of the earlier Palladians. Pope again proves here his independence in matters of taste by preferring Wren over Benson.

Although Wren defined beauty as

> a Harmony of Objects, begetting Pleasure by the Eye. There are two Causes of Beauty - natural and customary. Natural is from Geometry, consisting in Uniformity (that is Equality). Always the true test is natural or geometrical beauty. Geometrical figures are naturally more beautiful than other irregular; in this all consent as to a Law of Nature.[35]

he could also admire and occasionally use the Gothic. Wren traced the origin of the Gothic to the Saracens and does not equate its inventors with being destroyers or barbarians. The Gothic manner of

[34] Girouard, p. 120.

[35] Brownell, p. 296.

building was employed by Wren on several occasions, mainly in the rebuilding of many churches in the City of London after the Great Fire. Westminster Abbey is the most celebrated display of Wren's use of the Gothic: "Despite occasional lapses the overall effect is undeniably traditional, the spirit of the Gothic has been revived and the letter brilliantly reinterpreted."[36]

Wren's use of the Gothic was based neither on sentimental nor religious nor aesthetic reasons but on environmental ones. This phase has often been called a 'Gothic Renaissance' rather than a Gothic revival. Wren confessedly prefers "the better and Roman art of architecture on structural and aesthetic grounds, but he was prepared to use Gothic form when to deviate from the old form would be to run into a disagreeable mixture, which no person of good taste could relish."[37]

Wren's immediate and imposing successor in the architectural field was the playwright Sir John Vanbrugh, who "like Wren used the neo-gothic or medieval style during the last years of the 17th and early years of the 18th century."[38] Although Vanbrugh is generally known for his gigantic, very formal country houses like Blenheim Palace, the early Gothic Revival of the eighteenth century actually begins with him. His castle as Greenwich was "Gothic in spirit if not in detail, it was the first mock castle complex in romantic vein and one of the earliest examples of a strong emotional feeling for the past."[39]

Vanbrugh's importance for the early Gothic Revival is increased through his other castle buildings at Blackheath and Stowe. His love of the Gothic was Romantic in the sense that he cherished the associations attached to the monuments of the medieval past. This very aspect, too, grants him his rightful place in the history of the Gothic Revival. The Gothic Survival has used Gothic architecture on structu-

[36] Charles L. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival: An Attempt to Show How the Taste for Medieval Architecture which Lingered in England During the two Last Centuries Has Since Been Encouraged and Developed (1872), ed. and introd. J. Mordaunt Crook (New York: Humanities Press, 1970), p. 32.

[37] Eastlake, p. 30.

[38] Terence Davis, The Gothic Taste (London: David and Charles, 1969), p. 24.

[39] Davis, p. 25.

ral grounds or because of the suitability of this style to its surroundings. Vanbrugh's love for and appreciation of historic monuments is best illustrated by quoting a part of his letter to the Duchess of Marlborough, asking her to preserve the old manor of Woodstock:

> There is perhaps no one thing, which the most Polite part of Mankind have more universally agreed in; than the Value they have ever set upon the Remains of distant Times. Nor amongst the Severall kinds of those Antiquitys, are there any so much regarded, as those of Buildings; Some for their Magnificence, or Curious Workmanship; And others as they move more lively and pleasing Reflections (than History without their Aid can do) On the Persons who have Inhabited them; On the Remarkable things which have been translated in them, Or the extraordinary Occasions of erecting them.[40]

Vanbrugh, as a revivalist, combined his architectural designs, characterised by boldness, with "a great affection for all things medieval and although he used little authentic gothic detail his work conjures up the castle and the power of an heroic age." [41] Vanbrugh used the Gothic to set a mood. His architectural interpretation was reflected in his landscape gardening, which he laid out according to picturesque principles. Customarily William Kent is credited with the picturesque, but "in all these respects, in picturesque planning, in landscaping and in the use of medieval elements in domestic architecture, Vanbrugh preceded Kent. Kent was unquestionably the smaller man, even if he was more plausible and versatile." [42]

Vanbrugh was highly influential in the development of the early Gothic Revival by anticipating asymmetry in composition and by relating architecture to its natural environment, and "this romantic visual approach to landscape and buildings was to become an increasingly important element in the process of the Gothick style."[43]

[40] John D. Hunt and Peter Willis, ed., The Genius of the Place (London: Elek Books, 1975), p. 120.

[41] Davis, p. 24.

[42] Nikolaus Pevsner, Studies in Art, Architecture and Design (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), p. 158.

[43] Davis, p. 21.

Vanbrugh's essay in the Baroque found no successor but was replaced by Palladian architecture. The Palladians "condemned his baroque art as too rhetorical, too theatrical and too unrestrained."[44] Both styles had in common the fact of their being uninhabitable. Pope wrote of Blenheim Palace:

> Thanks, sir, cried I, 'tis very fine.
> But where d'you sleep, or where d'ye dine?
> I find, by all you have been telling
> That 'tis a house, but not a dwelling.

These lines were echoed by Lord Hervey on Chiswick House, the Palladian style country house of Lord Burlington:

> Possessed of one great Hall for State,
> Without a Place to sleep or eat.
> How well thou build, let flattery tell
> And all mankind, how ill you dwell.

William Kent, whose patron and benefactor was Lord Burlington, also did some architectural work in the Gothic style. His use of the Gothic was displayed for the first time at Waynflete's Tower at Esher Place in Surrey.[45] Gothic elements in this building were the pediments and bays, cupolas, pointed arches, ogee-arched doorways and clustered columns with key patterned capitals. Other Gothic work by Kent were a Gothic screen at Gloucester Cathedral and the extension of a Gothic wing at Rousham. George's Gateway at Hampton Court with its Gothic exterior "can also without doubt be ascribed to Kent."[46] Vanbrugh's influence on Kent reveals itself in Kent's design for the gateway at Holkham, where the outer openings

> are crowned with heavy pyramids and are particularly near Vanbrugh's medievalizing archway to the part at Castle Howard, and the whole design seems closer in feeling to Vanbrugh's heavy and picturesque manner than to Burlington's serene and dispassionate style.[47]

The Palladian style, in which Kent built as well, carried in its very being the seeds of its own destruction. This style of ar-

[44] Oliver Cook, The English Country House (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), p. 157.

[45] Eastlake, p. 37.

[46] Pevsner, p. 158.

[47] Eastlake, p. 131.

chitecture was based on Romanticism and Nature. Romanticism expressed itself in the inspiration of this architecture being drawn from the past. Its adherence to the traditional concept of Nature led to the utmost importance being given to the careful obedience to Vitruvius and to mathematical laws. The moment Romanticism and the concept of Nature were interpreted differently Palladian architecture was bound to fall. Mereworth Castle, designed by Campbell, may serve as an example of the Romantic mood in Palladian architecture. Mereworth Castle's predecessor was the Villa Capra, built by Palladio, who was inspired by the design for a romantic temple, and Campbell conceived Mereworth in a mood of nostalgia for antiquity. Mereworth Castle

> in its northern setting looked with longing not only to Rome, but also to 16th century Vicenza. At the same time this classical structure bears the evocative name of castle. In accordance with its name Campbell planned it as a moated house, so that when it was first built, the dark cedars which so perfectly contrast with its plain walls, framed a double image.[48]

At Mereworth Castle two opposite Romantic forces are at work, the serene Romanticism looking backwards to the idealised life on the Terra Ferma outside Venice, and the Roman country villas, as well as the dark Romanticism of the Middle Ages. The moment Nature was reinterpreted, the balance would swing in favour of this dark Romanticism. Destructive to the development of Palladian architecture was the picturesque aspect:

> if Chiswick Villa marks a new epoch in country house design, its garden is of equal importance, for it develops Vanbrugh's concept of the house and its setting as a three dimensional interpretation of a painter's vision. It is the forerunner of the romantic landscapes of Stourhead and the Leasowes. Thus the formal classical country house was from the start conjoined to an informal picturesque setting which encouraged principles opposed to Palladianism and in the end destructive of it.[49]

[48] Cook, p. 168.

[49] Cook, p. 171.

Summerson also understands the Palladian house to incorporate certain qualities "which Burlington could not have intended, like drama and picturesqueness."[50] Wittkower tries to find an explanation for the apparent discrepancy between a rigid adherence to formal architectural rules and the picturesque:

> Burlington's neo-classicism and so called romanticism vis à vis nature were the sides of the same medal inscribed Liberty. Classical architecture and the landscape garden appear thus as two interrelated aspects of a renaissance in the arts fostered by, and expressive of, the blessings of a free Commonwealth.[51]

However, the fact remains that the combination of Classical architecture and a picturesque setting proved to be a destructive force for the former. The dissolution of the formal house was furthermore brought about by certain changes in the way of life. There was the increased tendency of the inhabitants to enjoy the surrounding landscape garden from the inside outwards.The best place for this was in the basement of the house, this being positioned at garden level. The rustic, formerly the basement, tended to be used as a living area and influenced the outward symmetrical appearance of the house. Another internal change was the inclusion of a state dining room, taking over the function of the saloon. This also led to the decline and invalidation of the formal plan:

> Once the saloon had ceased to be used for meals its position as the ceremonial pivot of the house had gone and the reasons for putting it in the centre of the house with the great portico in front had gone also. The balance of the system had dissolved and the days of the formal plan were numbered.[52]

The peak of building in the Palladian style fell between 1720 and 1724, during which time most of the more well known Palladian houses were built: Mereworth Castle, designed by Campbell, and Moor Park, designed by Leoni in 1720; Ditchley Hall, designed by Gibbs

[50] John Summerson, Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830 (London: Methuen & Co. 1963), p.202.

[51] Rudolf Wittkower, Palladio and Palladianism (New York; G. Braziller, 1974), p. 162.

[52] Girouard, p. 162.

in 1722; Houghton Hall, designed by Campbell, Gibbs and Ripley, and Chiswick, designed by Burlington in 1727. Pope probably refers to Houghton Hall in the Epistle to Burlington:

> What brought Sir Visto's ill got wealth to waste?
> Some Daemon whisper'd, 'Visto! have a Taste.'
> Heav'n visits with a Taste the wealthy fool,
> And needs no Rod but Ripley with a Rule. (ll. 15-18)

Sir Visto can be identified as Walpole, especially as the "ill got wealth" refers to Walpole's dishonest means of amassing a fortune. Ripley is known to have executed parts of the design of Houghton Hall by the rule. The lines also carry an implied criticism of this Neo-Palladian architecture based on mathematical rules. In effect it also criticises Burlington, who occupies the central position in this aesthetic movement and whose style has been characterised as "a clipped style, always it was the unit which was precious. Burlingtonian design was in essence the composition of these separate units into a single whole, a rigid, inorganic whole whose effect was far from the aims of either Palladio or Jones."[53] Wittkower calls this effect a "staccato quality" which is "of course Palladian and essentially classical, but neither Palladio nor architects like Campbell and Gibbs show it with such uncompromising logic as Burlington and his disciples."[54]

In view of this evaluation of Burlington's interpretation of Palladian architecture, Pope's line directed at Burlington:"Jones and Palladio to themselves restore," carries even more weight. It indicates Pope's awareness of the difference between original Palladian design and the Burlingtonian interpretation thereof.

Although the architectural publications edited by Kent, Campbell and Leoni enjoyed quite some popularity, the Palladian movement itself remained an isolated one for very different reasons. The impulse "towards classical revival that had first manifested itself in the enthusiasm of Burlington and his circle now became keener and more literal, and with the aims of English architects became increasingly identified with the ancient splendours."[55]

[53] Summerson, p. 202.
[54] Wittkower, p. 120.
[55] Dutton, p. 74.

This led to the Greek revival of the mid- and latter part of the eighteenth century. From a political and social point of view, the Palladian style had increasingly been identified with the Whig oligarchy and the new rich. Furthermore, this mode of building was also seen very critically owing to its being uninhabitable and as a result of the symmetrical formal plan and the necessary sacrifice of traditional social relationships. Above all, there was the very practical side of the matter. Certain aspects of Palladianism, most suited to the Italian climate, did not work in England. Pope's line, "Fill half the land with Imitating-Fools " carries a just criticism of this imitation business. Frequently the interior of the house was sacrificed to the exterior, as in the case of Marshall Wade's house, of which Lord Chesterfield said that "although he could not live in the house, he intended to live opposite it in order to look at it."[56] A more practical difficulty was the placing of the chimneys. The original designs were generally without them, with the result that the English imitators tried to hide them. Most of the chimneys did not function properly.

The Grand Tour, which had fostered the popularity of Palladian architecture, also initiated its decline: "The influence of the Grand Tour, which both by its historical continuity and its opportunities widened the interest and susceptibilities of those who made it, and at once strengthened and undermined the rules of taste on the threshold of romanticism."[57]

Further reason for criticism was the senseless spending of money on building without any regard to social obligations. This kind of criticism is found throughout the minor periodicals of the eighteenth century. As quite a number of them appeared in the decade from 1730 to 1740, it is "a fair surmise that Pope's fourth Epistle on False Taste had given the cue to the periodical writers."[58]

[56] B. Sprague Allen, Tides in English Taste (New York: Pageant Books, 1958), I, 106.

[57] J. Burke, "The Grand Tour and the Rise of Taste," in Studies in the Eighteenth Century, ed. R.F. Brissenden (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968), p. 231.

[58] Allen, I, 106.

The argument of most of the periodicals ran that

> these aristocratic workers with stone and sand have lost their sense of proportions, and neglect those human edifices daily falling into ruin - persons overwhelmed with poverty. These incessant builders are, in truth, deficient in social responsibility if they can find neither a friend nor a relative to relieve.[59]

The criticism of Palladian architecture, its restricted influence on only a limited segment of society and the arrival of a new interpretation of Nature led to the rise of a very different architectural style. Although the Gothic style of building had survived throughout the years, it needed a new impulse to revive it. One of its main characteristics is its abhorrence of the straight line. This aspect increased in popularity thanks to the advice given by Pope on gardening. The guiding principle that "he gains all points, who pleasingly confounds,/ surprizes, varies and conceals the Bounds," led to a garden layout where axial planning was replaced by a circular design. This new layout also influenced the interior of the larger houses, as the circular planning of the garden was imitated in the house:"A different kind of entertaining, where guests were ushered from one room to another, a circle of reception rooms, finished off the symmetrical interior in favour of the circular one."[60]

The replacement of axial planning by circular planning also influenced the way people looked at houses. "They no longer thought in terms of rigidly intersecting axial vistas, each neatly ending in a terminal feature. They liked to see buildings in a series and from a variety of constantly changing angles."[61]

Pope's position in the early Gothic Revival, which had by this time replaced the Gothic Survival, is of the utmost importance, as it was he who laid down the aesthetic principles of irregularity and who made it clear that regularity and symmetry, the basic principles of Palladian architecture, are in fact "inverted Nature":

[59] Allen, I, 109.
[60] Girouard, p. 211.
[61] Girouard, p. 211.

Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other.
The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees. (ll.117-119)

All the conditions for the Gothic Revival were fulfilled. Pope was needed to gothicise Nature, to push forward the aesthetic acceptance of this architectural style.

Chapter Five: Pope and Architecture

1. Epistle IV, To Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington

Pope expressed his ideas on architecture in the Epistle IV, To Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, published in 1731 and occasioned by Burlington's publication of Palladio's drawings for the restoration of the Roman baths. Burlington had purchased these drawings in Italy during his Grand Tour and published them as Fabbriche Antiche da Andrea Palladio Vicentino in 1730.

Pope's Epistle to Burlington underwent a few changes of title. Originally it was called A Letter to Lord Burlington, which was then changed to Of False Taste. This title had been suggested by Aaron Hill, who wrote to Pope: "If the title had been 'Of False Taste' would it not have been properer?"[1] Eventually, the Epistle was published under its present name, dedicated to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, an extremely wealthy nobleman and connoisseur, under whose leadership the Palladian Movement in England flourished. The irony of the Epistle lies in the fact that, although it is dedicated to the promotor of the Palladian Movement, very little is said in it about Palladian architecture.

Pope's Epistle occasioned a squib at Lord Burlington, who had just built a Palladian house on his estate at Chiswick. Lord Hervey wrote the following lines on the subject:

> Possessed of one great Hall for State,
> Without a Place to sleep or eat,
> How well you build, let flattery tell,
> And all mankind, how ill you dwell.

The rôle of flatterer was attributed to Pope, and he responded to this accusation with the following lines, establishing the identity

[1] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), III, 257.

of the anonymous author as well:

> You wonder Who this Thing has writ,
> So full of fibs, so void of Wit?
> Lord! never ask who thus could serve ye?
> Who can it be but Fibster H(erve)y.

Although the general observer may to some extent agree with Hervey's criticism, a more thorough examination of Chiswick House reveals the falseness of this criticism. Burlington never intended Chiswick House to function as a dwelling, but wanted it as a gathering place for the Burlington Circle and as a place to exhibit the art objects he had acquired during his Grand Tour of Italy. Chiswick House has been shown to be a careful interpretation of the Villa Capra at Vicenza, in the design of which Burlington even adhered to Pope's interpretation of imitation, i.e. an imitation of the spirit and not of the letter. An analysis of Chiswick House shows that

> his building directly echoes Roman motifs as well as reinterpreting Palladio's Villa Capra design. Burlington boldly decided that chimneys were essential to an English house but he brought them into harmony with the classical ideal of giving them the form of short obelisks, four on the west, four on the east side. The central dome is octagonal rather than circular, raised on a drum pierced by large semicircular windows to let in more light than was needed in Vicenza. Then, unlike the Villa Capra, which is absolutely symmetrical, but like the typical large Georgian mansion, for which Chiswick Villa set the standard, the entrance front of Lord Burlington's house is the most important elevation and differs from all the rest.[2]

Chiswick House is unique in being the interpretation of a Classical Italian villa, adapted to English climatic requirements. The entrance front of Pope's villa at Twickenham is largely indebted to Chiswick Villa.

One of the main characteristics of the Epistle is its discrepancy. On first sight Pope seems to place Burlington on a pedestal, showing his true architectural light. Underneath this surface Pope makes statements on architecture which differ greatly from the Palladian architectural doctrine. Pope, for example, places great value

[2] Oliver Cook, The English Country House (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), p. 169.

on the adherence to the Genius of the Place:

> Consult the Genius of the Place in all;
> That tells the Waters or to rise, or fall,
> Or helps th' ambitious Hill the heav'ns to scale,
> Or scoops in circling theatres the Vale;
> Calls in the Country, catches op'ning glades,
> Joins willing woods, and varies shades from shades;
> Now breaks, or now directs, th' intending Lines,
> Paints as you plant, and as you work, designs. (11. 57-64)

by which Pope means paying attention to the climate and the natural surroundings. Dobai has pointed out that this principle is not observed in Palladian architecture:

> So wie Fremin l'objet, sujet und lieu für die Determinanten hielt, nach welchen ein Bau errichtet werden sollte, so hatte in England dann auch Alexander Pope ähnliche Ideen dargelegt, während der Palladianismus selbst eine ausgesprochene ästhetische Bewegung war.... . Pope verwarf die formalistische Anwendung der palladianischen Doktrin. Bewußt auf das Piedestal antiker Traditionen steigend, verlangte er die Berücksichtigung des Klimas und - nach Fremin - des lieu und machte in seiner pseudohorazischen Art jene lächerlich, die auf Faktoren nicht achten, welche in Schriften der Autoren wie Varro und Columella eine primäre Rolle besaßen.[3]

The adherence to this principle of the Genius of the Place is for Pope of the utmost importance; he returns to it frequently and warns that the disregard of this principle not only results in 'false' architecture, but may even physically cause death:

> Or call the winds thro' long arcades to roar,
> Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door;
> Conscious they act a true Palladian part,
> And if they starve, they starve by rules of art. (11.34-38)

The description of Timon's house, ll. 89 to 168, is one extensive example of the ignoring of the Genius of the Place and the result thereof.

Palladian architecture had a certain attractiveness for Pope because of its Romantic associations, but he rejected the 'true Pal-

[3] Johannes Dobai, Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England (Bern: Bentelli Verlag, 1974), I, 509.

ladian part" because of its being unsuited to the English climate:

Analysis of the Epistle to Burlington

In the first lines of the poem Pope introduces the reader to "people of wealth" who share one common characteristic, lack of taste:

> For what has Virro painted, built, and planted?
> Only to show, how many Tastes he wanted.
> What brought Sir Visto's ill-got wealth to waste?
> Some Daemon whisper'd, 'Visto! have a Taste.'
> Heav'n visits with a Taste the wealthy fool,
> And needs no Rod but Ripley with a Rule. (ll. 13-18)

The lines 17 and 18 are of specific importance, as Pope wishes to bring across several points. He first makes the point, already stated in the Essay on Criticism, that adherence to mathematical rules is no guarantee of art:

> Some beauties yet no Precepts can declare, (l. 141)

and

> Are nameless graces which no methods teach
> And which a master-hand alone can reach.
> If, where the rules not far enough extend,
> (since rules were made but to promote their end)
> Some lucky licence answers to the full. (ll. 144-149)

The lines 17 and 18 of the Epistle to Burlington are a negation of so-called Palladian architecture, which was heavily dependent on mathematical rules. Disregard of the principle of applying mathematical rules to architecture leads to:

> Those freer beauties, ev'n in them, seem faults.
> Some figures monstrous and mis-shap'd appear,
> Consider'd singly, or beheld too near,
> Which but proportion'd to their lights, or place,
> Due distance reconciles to form and grace.
>
> (Essay on Criticism ll. 171-175)

The idea contained in these lines was repeated by Pope in his Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear': "Nor does the Whole fail to strike us with greater reverence, tho' many of the Parts are childish, ill-plac'd, and unequal to its grandeur." The application of the lines 171 to 175 of the Essay on Criticism to lines 17 and 18 of the Epistle to Burlington results in a rejection of a strictly mathematical Palladian art in favour of a freer architecture, where the entirety is the most important issue.

The second point made in the lines 17 and 18 is "Ripley" and "the wealthy fool." Ripley was, as a footnote informs the reader, Comptroller of the Board of Works, "without any Genius in the art" and had been appointed to this office by the Prime Minister, Walpole. During his tenure at the Works he designed one building, the Admiralty in Whitehall. In 1736 he built a country house, Wolterton Hall in Norfolk, of which Gotch writes:

> The appeal is to narrower sympathies than of old, to sympathies which spring from an acquired feeling for proportion and are not merely roused by quaint personal incidents, attractive to all alike, whether trained in architecture or not.[4]

Ripley's designs do not invite an emotional response based on a beauty which "no Precepts can declare," but an intellectual one based on acquired feelings of proportion. For the Prime Minister Ripley completed Houghton Hall, originally designed by Campbell. "The wealthy fool" could easily very well mean the Prime Minister himself. In the Dunciad Ripley is encountered again:

> See under Ripley rise a new White-Hall,
> While Jones' and Boyle's united labours fall:
> While Wren with sorrow to the grave descends.

on which Brownell comments:

> The building rising before the eyes of Settle and Cibber is not the glorious design of Inigo Jones for a Royal Palace, but the egregious and contemptible design for an administrative building of a corrupt government designed by an ignorant time-server, and spoiler of public magnificence.[5]

Ripley, however, also includes a reference to Lord Burlington, as Ripley, together with Brettingham, Flitcroft, Kent, Vary and John Wood of Bath belonged to the Burlington Circle. Pope warns Burlington against wrong adaptations of his Palladian designs:

[4] J. Alfred Gotch, The English Home from Charles I to George IV (London: Batsford, 1918), p. 14.

[5] Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 298.

> You show us, Rome was glorious, not profuse,
> And pompous buildings were once things of Use.
> Yet shall (my Lord) your just, your noble rules
> Fill half the land with Imitating-Fools. (ll. 23-26)

Pope refers in these lines to the architectural principle of use, which justified pomposity in public architecture. The "Imitating-Fools" of line 26 applied pomposity to private, domestic architecture:

> Who random drawings from your sheets shall take,
> And of one beauty many blunders make. (ll. 27, 28)

The architectural blunders committed by these fools, are:

> Load some vain Church with old Theatric state
> Turn Arcs of Triumph to a Garden-gate. (ll. 29, 30)

The function of certain architectural structures is entirely disregarded by these modern builders. Their lack of understanding of architecture is even more strongly stated in the following lines:

> Reverse your Ornaments, and hang them all
> On some patch'd dog-hole ek'd with end of wall,
> Then clap four slices of Pilaster on't.
> That lac'd with bits of rustic, makes a Front. (ll. 13-34)

where Pope deals with one of the more important Palladian features, the frontispiece, which, according to Palladio, should indicate the social importance of the owner. Pope indicates in these lines that these "Imitating-Fools," generally belonging to the class of the newly wealthy, have a complete misconception of their own social standing, which is obvious in their treatment of the frontispiece. Pope himself paid careful attention to the frontispiece of his own villa and repeatedly asked Burlington for advice:

> The Zeal of my Portico has eaten me up, so that I cannot be from home today; I sent yesterday & missed of you. I cannot proceed my Stuccoing, till I see your Lordship & have your directions about the Upper-Cornish of my house, & the Moldings & Members of the Entablature.[6]

[6] Sherburn, III, 314.

The application of the Palladian letter instead of its spirit results in:

> Or call the winds thro' long arcades to road,
> Proud to catch a cold at a Venetian door;
> Conscious they act a true Palladian part,
> And if they starve, they starve by rules of art. (11.35-38)

The main sin committed is ignoring the Genius of the Place, which not only can cause physical death but is also destructive of the very art itself, by not investing it with true life. Architecture in that case becomes an academic exercise and loses its relationship with its surroundings. The change in domestic architecture had already resulted in the decline of formerly existing social relationships, and the use of Palladian architecture increased this process. This kind of architecture was mainly used to enhance the social position of the owner, which meant relegating the dependants to basements and wings, severing these social relationships almost entirely.

However, Pope continues, Burlington is not to blame for these false imitations of Palladian architecture:

> Oft have you hinted to your brother Peer,
> A certain truth, which many buy too dear,
> Something there is, more needful than Expence,
> And something previous ev'n to Taste - 'tis Sense:
> (11. 39-42)

In these lines Pope places the proper architectural exercise on an aristocratic level, implied by "your brother Peer." Pope introduces the reader eventually to two of these peers, who built and planned according to this "certain truth," Lord Viscount Cobham and Lord Bathurst. By choosing Cobham and Bathurst as exemplary builders Pope achieves two things: he not only restricts the application of proper architecture to the old aristocracy, but he also indicates the difference between the old and new wealth, or between the country and the city.

The nouveaux riches, having gained their riches in a corrupt society under the leadership of Walpole, are unable to attain this "certain truth" in building and planting. Their false imitations reflect their own corruption. Pope applies here the Shaftesburian theory of the relationship between aesthetics and ethics.

This "certain truth," which is "Sense," cannot be acquired intellectually but is the "gift of Heaven," which is

> A light, which in yourself you must perceive;
> Jones and Le Notre have it not to give. (ll. 46, 47)

The juxtaposition of Jones and Le Notre is an interesting one. Pope's ideas on gardening differ completely from the rigid formal designs of Le Notre. For Pope, gardening should be based on surprise, variety and concealment:

> He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds,
> Surprizes, varies and conceals the Bounds. (ll. 55,56)

The Palladian architectural doctrine, as introduced into England by Inigo Jones is stated towards the end of this exposé:

> Still follow Sense, of ev'ry Art the soul,
> Parts answ'ring parts shall slide into a whole. (ll. 65,66)

The charge made by Hervey that Pope is Burlington's flatterer is certainly justified here. In line 46 Jones and Le Notre are cited as being unable to give "this light" in architecture and gardening. This interpretation is reinforced by setting down gardening principles completely opposite to those of Le Notre's. Pope's gardening principles can be applied to architecture as well, resulting in an architecture completely opposed to Palladian architecture. Up to line 56 both Jones and Le Notre carry a negative implication. A reversal of this, at least in regard to Jones, takes place in line 66 "Parts answ'ring parts shall slide into a whole." An architectural principle typical of Palladian art, which is obviously the result of "following Sense" and at the same time contrary to previously mentioned principles. Pope consequently invests Burlington with this "Sense," as he makes him the successor to Jones's architectural programme:

> You too proceed! make falling Arts your care,
> Erect new wonders, and the old repair;
> Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,
> And be what'er Vitruvius was before. (ll. 191-194)

Throughout the lines 45 to 66 the reader is confronted with the opposite principles in gardening and architecture. Gardening is based on surprise, variety and concealment, the following of which results

in the picturesque:

> Now breaks, or now directs, th' intending Lines,
> Paints as you plant, and as you work, designs. (ll. 63,64)

whereas Palladian architecture is based on symmetry. In fact, Pope combines these two opposite forces of picturesqueness and symmetry. This very process "encouraged principles opposed to Palladianism and was in the end destructive of it,"[7] resulting in what Geoffrey Scott calls the Romantic fallacy: "Nature's unconsidered variety became the very type and criterion of beauty, and men were led by an inevitable consequence to value what is curious, irregular and wild."[8] The recognition of the unnaturalness of the formal garden and its gradual replacement by the picturesque landscaped garden led to a change in architectural style,

> which was not slow to follow. Here a romantic sense of history, treating styles as symbols, could look with equal favour on the Gothic and the Greek and had provoked a romantic revival of both. But the romantic sense weighted the balance in favour of the medieval. The Gothic builders belonged to the 'nobly savage ' north, and had built against a background of forest and tempest. The Greek stood for reason, civilisation, and calm. More than this, a certain 'natural' quality belonged to the Gothic style itself. Like Nature, it was intricate and strange; in detail realistic, in composition it was bold, accidental and irregular, like the composition of the physical world.[9]

The qualities Scott attributes to Nature are the same as those of Pope, through which he paved the way for the Gothic Revival. In the Epistle Pope emphasises the point: "In all, let Nature never be forgot." (l. 50). Nature is reflected in gardening through irregularity, surprise, variety and concealment (ll. 55,56). These 'natural' qualities were applied to architecture by Pope in the building of the grotto at Twickenham and Alfred's Castle on Lord Bathurst's estate. Pope transfers gardening principles to architecture and this leads to a negation of Palladian architecture.

[7] Cook, p. 171.

[8] Geoffrey Scott, The Architecture of Humanism (London: Constable & Co., 1914), p. 66.

[9] Scott, p. 68.

At the end of this section, having stated the principles of proper gardening and architecture, Pope presents us with the ultimate realisation of these principles: "A Work to wonder at - perhaps a Stow." (l. 70) Pope's infatuation with Stowe reveals itself in his letter to John Knight, 1731:

> The Place from which I write to you will be proof, alone, how incapable I am of forgetting you & your Gosfeld; for if any thing under Paradise could set me beyond all Earthly Cogitations; Stowe might do it. It is much more beautiful this year than when I saw it before, & much enlarged, & with variety.[10]

In Pope's day the gardens at Stowe still showed the plan of Bridgeman-Vanbrugh, which was a'poetick' one:

> The landscape garden fulfilled at this point all of the precepts of Pope's Epistle to Burlington. Bridgeman had achieved the rural ideal of 'Order in Variety' of Pope's "Windsor Forest," which underlies Gilbert West's description of his poem. Most of West's poem is a description of 'intermingled buildings' which provides the clearest index of the 'poetical plan' of the Bridgeman-Vanbrugh garden. Vanbrugh was the designer of most of the important garden architecture at this stage in the development.[11]

West's poem "Stowe, The Garden of the Right Honourable Richard Viscount Cobham" is the first of many publications on Stowe. West pays homage to Pope, who celebrated Stowe as the example of proper gardening:

> To Thee, great Master of the vocal String,
> O Pope, of Stowe's Elyzian Scenes I sing:
> That Stowe, which better far thy Muse divine
> Commands to live in one distinguish'd Line. (ll. 1-4)

and of Pope's spiritual presence at Stowe:

> Oft, as thy Breast with pleasing Rapture glow'd,
> Hast here, O Pope, avow'd th' inspiring God. (ll. 26, 27)

Besides describing the walks at Stowe and the poetic associations, West also picks up the 'forest theory' theme, often used to explain

[10] Sherburn, III, 217.

[11] Brownell, p. 198 (Dobai, I, 578-585).

the origin of Gothic architecture:

> Batavian poplars here in ranks ascend;
> Like some high Temple's arching Isles extend
> The taper'd Trunks, a living Colonnade. (ll. 59-61)

echoing Pope's remark to Spence that he had "sometimes had an idea of planting an old Gothic cathedral, or rather some old Roman temple in trees." (No. 619.) Both sentiments express the idea of a natural architecture.

Pope visited Stowe together with Swift and Gay in the summer of 1726, and their visit might have induced Lord Cobham, at that time still a 'Revolution Whig', to employ Gibbs, who designed for Stowe the Temple of British Worthies. This temple was probably influenced by Pope who had pursued the theme of British Worthies in 'Windsor Forest' and in the 'Epistle to Addison'. Practical influence on Stowe was exerted by Pope through the design of his grotto and Shell Temple:

> Stowe's grotto corresponds to the basement entrance of Pope's at Twickenham in plan, elevation, and ornament consisting of shells, statuary, and mirrors used to multiply changing views of the garden landscape, a much admired feature of Pope's grotto. The shell temples unmistakably owe their inspiration to Pope's Shell Temple set up in the 1720s.[12]

Stowe was not just a beautiful design, it also served a very definite purpose: "In all, Stowe tried to instill an intricate pattern of thought in their visitors, achieved by all the buildings, like the Gothic temple of Liberty, to recall visitors to an awareness of Britain's own cultural traditions."[13] Interesting in this quotation is the association of the Gothic with liberty, an aspect encountered in regard to landscape. The absence of rules or disdain for them is a highly favoured aspect of the Gothic.

At Stowe we encounter what Scott calls "the first fallacy of Romanticism, which is to regard architecture as symbolic"[14] and

[12] Brownell, p. 204.

[13] John D. Hunt and Peter Willis, ed., The Genius of the Place (London: Elek Books, 1975), p. 33.

[14] Scott, p. 52.

"The Romantic Movement is a phase of this literary preoccupation, it is the most extreme example of triumph of association over direct experience which the history of culture contains."[15]

The key point of Scott's statement is that architecture serves as a mere symbol of literary ideas. Pope certainly regarded architecture in this way, its associative value being for him of the utmost importance. This explains Pope's appreciation of different architectural styles which are based on principles opposed to one another. His Villa at Twickenham and Alfred's Castle, to name but two, although of opposing architectural styles, could be built by the same man at approximately the same time because of their common principle of association, recalling either the Italian Renaissance or the English medieval past. Pope's awareness of the associative value of architecture and its realisation was an important contribution to the Romantic Movement of the early eighteenth century.

After the lines on Stowe, Pope continues his theme of false imitators, reaching the epitome of false taste in Timon's Villa. The preceding examples of false taste and wasteful extravagance are Villario and Sabinus. Villario laid out a formal garden, in itself already a folly, as the principle of Liberty is not observed, a task which took him ten years:

> Behold Villario's ten-years toil compleat;
> His Arbours darken, his Espaliers meet;
> The Wood supports the Plain, the parts unite,
> And strength of Shade contends with strength of light.
> (ll. 79-83)

Having completed the formal layout of his garden, Villario realises that he prefers a different taste:

> Tir'd of the scene Parterres and Fountains yield,
> He finds at last he likes a Field. (ll. 87, 88)

The unnatural symmetrical layout tires and bores the eye, a field offers greater variety. Sabinus laid out woods:

> Thro' his young woods how pleas'd Sabinus stray'd
> Or sat delighted in the thick'ning shade,

[15] Scott, p. 62.

> With annual joy the red'ning shoots to greet,
> Or see the stretching branches long to meet. (11. 89-92)

which were then cut down by the "fine Taste" of his son:

> His Son's fine Taste an op'ner Vista loves,
> Foe to the Dryads of his Father's groves,
> One boundless Green, or flourish'd Carpet views,
> With all the mournfull family of Yews;
> The thriving plants ignoble broomsticks made,
> Now sweep those Alleys they were born to shade. (11.93-98)

Sabinus's fault lay in his failure to observe the principle of variety. His son, being bored by the woods, changed the plan of the garden and replaced the woods by a "boundless Green": gardens laid out in the formal manner. Their inconsistency and their being led by false principles mean that Nature has to suffer.

Pope then reaches the climax of the Epistle : his visit to Timon's house. His first impression of the house is that of misused wealth:

> Where all cry out, 'What sums are thrown away!'
> So proud, so grand, of that stupendous air,
> Soft and agreeable come never there. (11. 98-100)

Timon's Villa has been thought to be based either on Blenheim Palace or Houghton Hall, Walpole's country seat. The lines 109 and 110 certainly carry references to Blenheim Palace:

> Lo' what huge heaps of littleness around!
> The whole, a labour'd Quarry above ground. (11. 109,110)

Line 109 refers to one of Pope's letters, in which he describes Blenheim Palace: "I never saw a thing with so much littleness in it,"[16] and line 110 with its "labour'd Quarry above ground"

> echoes a remark about Blenheim by Pope's friend Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, which had become proverbial. The comment of the 'Master-Key' - 'That well known saying of his fixes this to Blenheim' - is satirical of those who attempted to fix on any one place satire intended for many, but circumstantial details of the house and garden conform more closely to Blenheim than any other single place.[17]

[16] Sherburn, I, 432.

[17] Brownell, p. 310.

The entire villa is on an inhuman scale:

> To compass this, his building is a Town,
> His pond an Ocean, his parterre a Down. (ll. 105, 106)

The very scale of the house turns its owner into "a puny insect, shiv'ring at a breeze." Both building and gardens reflect "inverted Nature":

> No pleasing Intricacies intervene,
> No artful wildness to perplex the scene;
> Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,
> And half the platform just reflects the other.
> The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees,
> Trees cut to Statues, Statues thick as Trees. (ll. 115-120)

The lines referring to the formal garden, ll. 115 to 118, imply that symmetry is an aspect of inverted Nature, emphasising the meaning of line 47: "Jones and Le Notre have it not to give." These lines also apply to architecture, especially to Palladian architecture with its rigid symmetrical planning. For Pope, then, this architectural style reflects inverted Nature as well.

Line 120 was also partly the subject of Pope's essay On Gardens:

> How contrary to this Simplicity is the modern Practice of Gardening; we seem to make it our Study to recede from Nature, not only in the various Tonsure of Greens into the most regular and formal Shapes, but even in the monstrous attempts beyond the reach of Art itself: We run into Sculpture, and are yet better pleas'd to have our Trees in the most awkward Figures of Men and Animals, than in the most regular of their own.[18]

Inverted Nature is reflected throughout the villa, the terrace is far too large for human beings:

> First thro' the length of yon hot Terrace sweat,
> And when up the steep slopes you've dragg'd your thighs.
> (ll. 130, 131)

The library is conspicuous for the absence of books:

> Lo, some are Vellom, and the rest as good
> For all his Lordship knows, but they are Wood.
> (ll. 137, 138)

[18] Normal Ault, ed., The Prose Works of Alexander Pope (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 148.

In particular the chapel, ll. 141 to 150, and the dining-room, ll. 151 to 164, are powerful expressions of the dominant vice, that of Nature inverted. One is summoned to the chapel by "silver bells" to participate in the "Pride of Prayer." The music, whose religious function it is to uplift the soul towards heaven, is at Timon's "broken and unheaven," it makes "the soul dance upon a hig to Heav'n." The paintings on the ceiling of the chapel to which "you devoutly stare" are rather lascivious:

> Where sprawl the Saints of Verrio or Laguerre,
> On gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,
> And bring all Paradise before the eye. (ll. 145-147)

Even the dean and his sermon suit this 'unnatural' environment, the "soft" dean invites the members of the congregation "to rest" and "he never mentions Hell to ears polite." Religion is turned into some kind of entertainment.

After having gone through all of this, the guests are invited in to dinner, which turns out to be a travesty of Pope's highly valued tradition of hospitality. The dining-room is a "Marble Hall" and the "rich Buffet" is graced by "well-colour'd Serpents." Timon's "Marble Hall" is a far cry from the traditional dining hall in which members of a community joined for a meal. The "serpents" may well represent Timon and his fellow landowners, who lived off the proceeds of their dependants and eventually ruined them. The fact that the dining-room is made of marble indicates its coldness, its graveyard image. The dining-room is described as a temple in which a great slaughter, a "Hecatomb," is "perform'd in state." Pope feels that as a guest, he is

> In plenty starving, tantaliz'd in state,
> And complaisantly help'd to all I hate. (ll. 163, 164)

After the meal Pope takes his leave:

> Sick of his civil Pride from Morn to Eve,
> I curse such lavish cost, and little skill,
> And swear no Day was ever past so ill.
>
> (ll. 165-167)

Although Timon's entire surroundings are unnatural, they still work for the common good:

> Yet hence the Poor are cloath'd the Hungry fed;
> Health to himself, and to his Infants bread
> The lab'rer bears: What his hard Heart denies,
> His charitable Vanity supplies. (ll. 169-172)

Pope expanded this argument in a letter to Gay (formerly attributed to Cleland):

> Is this such a Crime, that to impute it to a Man must be a grievous Offence? 'Tis an Innocent Folly and much more Benificent than the Want of it; for Ill Taste employs more Hands, and diffuses Expence more than a Good one. Is it a Moral Defect? No, it is but a Natural one, a Want of Taste.[19]

Pope's statement in the Essay on Man: "And bade Self-Love and Social be the same," is realised by Timon. Unintentionally he works for the common good, his vanity supplies work to a small army of labourers, but without the traditional interdependency.

Pope concludes the Epistle with two positive examples of planting and building:

> Another age shall see the golden Ear
> Imbrown the Slope, and not on the Parterre,
> Deep Harvests bury all his pride has plann'd.
> And laughing Ceres re-assume the land.
> Who then shall grace, or so improve the Soil?
> Who plants like Bathurst, or who builds like Boyle?
> (ll. 173-178)

Pope first considers Bathurst's plantations, on which the "Tenants bless their yearly toil" and

> Whose rising Forest, not for pride or show,
> But future Buildings, future Navies grow:
> Let his plantations stretch from down to down,
> First shade a Country, and then raise a Town.
> (ll. 186-190)

[19] Sherburn, III, 255.

Pope then addresses Burlington and assigns to him the following task:

> You too proceed! make falling Arts your care,
> Erect new wonders, and the old repair;
> Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,
> And be whate'er Vitruvius was before. (ll. 191-194)

Obviously Burlington had not yet fulfilled the assignment, both the couplets being in the imperative. It almost sounds as if Burlington's architectural achievements have not attained Pope's satisfaction. The line "Jones and Palladio to themselves restore" almost sounds like an admonishment. Burlington should use the basic principles of Palladio's architecture, that is sense and use, and base his architectural designs upon these, instead of copying Palladio's designs, which are not only unsuitable for the English climate, but also serve different needs. Pope assigns to Burlington the part of Vitruvius, which means that he should concentrate on public buildings:

> Bid Harbors open, public Ways extend,
> Bid Temples, worthier of the God, ascend,
> Bid the broad Arch the dang'rous Flood contain,
> The Mole projected break the roaring Main;
> Back to his bounds their subject Sea command,
> And roll obedient Rivers thro' the Land:
> These Honours, Peace to happy Britain brings,
> These are Imperial Works, and worthy Kings. (ll. 197-204)

The Epistle to Burlington contains Pope's plea for a natural architecture, by which he means an architecture adapted to human needs and based on the principles of use, sense and variety, these being natural qualities. Above all, the associative value should not be forgotten. The combination of all these factors led to a Romantic style of architecture which found its expression in the Gothic Revival.

2. Pope's Villa at Twickenham

In 1719 Pope leased a house ten miles outside London at Twickenham. On his habitation of this house he wrote:

> I am but a lodger here; this is not an abiding city, I am only to stay out my lease; for what has perpetuity and mortal men to do with each other? But I could be glad you could take up with an inn at Twitenham, as long as I am host of it: if not, I would take up freely with any inn of yours.[1]

Although Pope considered himself to be only a "lodger" in this house, this didn't keep him from spending a small fortune on the remodelling of it, which lasted from 1719 until 1740. Pope's architectural adventure at Twickenham was Romantic in spirit: the house was remodelled according to models laid down by Palladio and interpreted by Burlington. It was built according to the principles of use and sense and reflected an association with the past. Hospitality at the "inn at Twickenham" could be dispensed according to Pope's status and financial means.

Before taking a lease on this house Pope had considered building a town house on the newly developed Burlington estate site in London. His friend Bathurst advised him against this, pointing out the great expense involved[2], following which Pope wrote to Burlington of his decision:

> I am told your Lordship is going into the Country upon some journey tomorrow, & lest the affair you sent me about should be That of my building or not, I take this method of repeating what I said when last I had the honour of seeing you; That I readily resign the piece of ground intended for me, as not being prepared to build, & absolutely unwilling to retard the progress of the rest who are.[3]

[1] Whitwell Elwin and William John Courthope, Introd., The Works of Alexander Pope (London: John Murray, 1886), IX (Correspondence IV), 151, (No. 2).

[2] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 488.

[3] Sherburn, II, 2.

The house at Twickenham was a joint venture of Pope's and Burlington's, the latter advising him where necessary and supplying certain building materials. Pope himself drew up the plans:

> Alas, Sir, do you know whom you talk to? One that has been a poet, was degraded to a translator, and, at last, through mere dulness, is turned into an architect. The history of my transplantation and settlement, which you desire would require a volume were I to enumerate the many projects, difficulties, vicissitudes, and various fates attending that important part of my life: much more, should I describe the many draughts, elevations, profiles, perspectives, &c, of every palace and garden proposed, intended and happily raised by the strength of that faculty wherein all great geniuses excel, imagination. At last, the gods and fate have fixed me on the borders of the Thames, in the districts of Richmond and Twitenham.[4]

Although Burlington and Kent advised Pope on the remodelling of the villa, Pope also called in a professional architect, Gibbs, who was responsible for some of the garden architecture at Stowe. There exists one letter from Gibbs to Pope, in which certain architectural designs are mentioned and which Pope is asked "to approve or disapprove of, according as you shall find them to your purpose."[5]

The house "emerged in 1720 from its alterations with many of the essential features of the English Palladian Villa, but without the riverside portico which was to become such a feature of the villa."[6] Later descriptions of Pope's house pay most attention to this essential feature. The house, as finished in 1740, was

> not of so large and magnificent a Structure as a lightsome Elegance and neat Simplicity in its Contrivance. Over the front Entrance into his Grotto lies a balustraded Portico, for a Balcony projected from the Middle Window of the second Storey and supported by Pillars resting upon the Platform, makes so much of it resemble a Portico; but the Platform extending without these Pillars becomes more a Vestibule: Add to this, the Window opening into the Balcony being crowned with a Pediment

[4] Whitwell Elwin, Introd., The Works of Alexander Pope (London: John Murray, 1872), VIII (Correspondence III), 26 (No. 18.

[5] Sherburn, II, 4.

[6] Alexander Pope's Villa: Views of Pope's Villa, Grotto and Garden: A Microcosm of English Landscape (The Greater London Council, 1980), p. 6.

> gives the several Parts an Air of one Figure, or whole, and adds an inexpressible Grace to the Front.[7]

The villa Pope built was

> a dwelling of three stories and some ten or twelve rooms, whose plan and ornamentation recall in a general way the classicism of Inigo Jones, Palladio, and the north Italian villa. It consisted of a central block, with slightly recessed and lowered wings, the north wing rising from grotto-entrance in the basement storey to a balustraded platform at the level of the piano nobile, then rising again to a balustraded balcony supported on Tuscan pillars at the chamber level, and so to a highly decorated cornice topped by a hipped roof.[8]

In both descriptions major attention is given to the portico, the architectural feature of the house for which Burlington and Kent are mainly responsible. The importance of the portico was put forward by Palladio:

> In all the villas and also in some of the city houses I have put a frontispiece on the forward façade where the principal doors are, because such frontispieces show the entrance of the house, and add very much to the grandeur and magnificence of the work, the front being thus made more eminent than the rest. Besides, they prove to be especially useful for the builders' coats of arms, which usually are put in the middle of the façades. The ancients also used them in their building, as may be seen in the remains of temples and of other public edifices.[9]

The design of the portico of Pope's house stems from a formula found with some frequency in façades of Palladian inspiration: "The 17th century Villa Contari near Padua shows an application of the formula that closely remembers Pope's."[10] Other sources of inspiration were the recently built villas of Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, and of Burlington. Summerson's analysis of the essential features of the villa of the eighteenth century,

[7] Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Alexander Pope (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 237-243.

[8] Mack, p. 16.

[9] James S. Ackerman, Palladio (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 65.

[10] F. W. Hilles and H. Bloom, ed., From Sensibility to Romanticism (New York: Humanities Press, 1965), p. 1.

which is "Palladian or nothing" applies to Pope's villa, too:

> The English type is square or nearly square in plan, with a symmetrical arrangement of rooms on both axes. The front and back façades are divided into three, the central part having a portico (pilasterwise or in the round), the side parts one window each. The window-rhythm one - three - one is essential to the type. A house of this type has all the formality of the greater house but the window-rhythm renders it totally opposed to the idea of long ranges of intercommunicating rooms. Its accommodation is necessarily modest and its character therefore more in the nature of a retreat than an advertisement of its owner's standing or ability to entertain.[11]

Pope clearly identified his villa with the Vitruvian-Palladian movement:

> My Building rises high enough to attract the eye and the curiosity of the Passenger from the River, where, upon beholding a Mixture of Beauty and Ruin, he inquires what House is falling, or what Church is rising? So little taste have your common Tritons of Vitruvius.[12]

The portico, the most classical Palladian feature of the villa, mainly had Burlington to thank for its existence, as Pope frequently asked him for advice:

> My Portico is at hand, & by an Expedient of Mr Kent which is here inclosed, the only difficulty we had is remov'd: but I will not proceed till I have your Lordship's Sanction of it, the Basement if continued no farther on the Sides than the Pillars, would be too thin & want a flight of Steps to spread it: which would spoil a Design I have, to make that Basement include a cold Bath & Fall of Water. Your opinion of this, as it stands, with relation to its connection to the rest of the Front, will greatly oblige me.[13]

Burlington replied to Pope, telling him that he had considered the front, but that "my friend Kent has done all that can be considering the place."[14] Burlington's assistance extended from giving advice to

[11] John Summerson, "The Classical Country House in the Eighteenth Century," Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, CVII (1959), 551-552.

[12] Sherburn, II, 44.

[13] Sherburn, III, 314.

[14] Sherburn, III, 322.

supplying some of the building materials:

> My Lord, the Inclosed is the last Bill I shall draw upon your Lordship for stone, according to the Commands you lay'd upon me, that there shall be nothing Durable in my Building, which I was not to owe to Chiswick. I am sure there will be nothing in it Beautiful besides, nor (I believe) in this Nation, but what is owed to the Lord of Chiswick.[15]

Pope's heavy dependency on Burlington's advice is obvious from the following letter:

> My Lord, If you happen to be at leisure enough to call on a poor distressed, undetermin'd Designer, whose work lies unfinished for want of a little judgment (the case of many a man) pray come & take me away with you if you please, for I can do nothing without you.[16]

Although Burlington's advice was most welcome to Pope, one wonders to what extent his so-called dependency on Burlington was mere flattery. Pope was ready and able to advise other builders on their projects. In 1734 Pope visited Tottenham, the country estate of Burlington's brother-in-law, whose house was rebuilt between 1730 and 1740. Pope informs Burlington of his impression of the house and of some designs he submitted:

> It is one of the prettiest I ever saw, and one of the best Houses I ever was in, an admirable Library, a delicious Park, & extensive Plantations. It wants only a few Temples & Ornaments of Building, which I am contriving, in defect of better architects (who are a Rare & uncommone Generation, not born in every Family) or rather to prevent a wild Goth, whom I think they call Kent, (from a Country which has ever been held no part of Christendome) I am told that man hath suggested an odd thing, which thro' his Violence of Temper and ungovernable Spirit of Dominion (natural to all Goths) he will unfallibly erect; unless I lay a Temple in his way, which he will probably not venture to pull down,.... However, as I cannot get this done in a day, I fear the owner of this place (who is a man of no Resolution and never Positive in any thing) may drop my design.[17]

[15] Sherburn, III, 341.

[16] Sherburn, III, 515.

[17] Sherburn, III, 417.

In 1735 Pope advised Fortescue on the rebuilding of his house: "The windows will be done, and a stone chimney-piece set up, by the end of next week. I will see all effected, and order the painting after. I have paid the fisherman."[18]

One year later Pope advised Allen of Bath on the choice of his ornaments, which were of the utmost importance to Pope:

> That of Scipio is of the exact Size you would best ornament your Hall done in Chiaro oscuro. A Man not only shews his taste but his Virtue, in the Choice of such Ornaments: And whatever Example most strikes us, we may reasonably imagine, may have an influence upon others, so that the History itself (if well chosen) upon a Rich-mans Walls, is very often a better lesson than any he could teach by his Conversation. In this sense, the Stones may be said to speak, when Men cannot, or will not.[19]

These letters indicate the great interest Pope took in architecture and the importance he attached to this mode of artistic expression. Pope's decision to remodel his own house in the Palladian style was a very conscious one, not being dictated by the desire to be fashionable. The Palladian architectural style allowed him the Romantic association with a much loved past, combining this at the same time with practicality. The size of the villa was such that visitors could be entertained but were not needed constantly to fill the house, and the expenses for the upkeep of the villa were within his financial means. ThePalladian style was in fact the only architectural style possible for the villa. The alternative of the asymmetrical small house was not yet feasible, as the principles of garden architecture had not yet been applied to domestic architecture. The actual size of the villa was important, as it allowed Pope to dispense hospitality on a scale convenient to himself and his financial means. Pope set great store by the dispensation of hospitality and related it to the traditional hospitality of the Man of Ross and the Digbys of Sherborne, on whose country seat he had written:

> When I have been describing his agreeable Seat, I cannot make the reflection I have often done upon contemplating the beautiful Villa's of Other Noblemen, rais'd upon the

[18] Sherburn, III, 478.

[19] Sherburn, IV, 13.

> Spoils of plunder'd Nations, or aggrandiz'd by the wealth of the Publick..... I dare say his Goodness and Benevolence extend as far as his territories, that his Tenants live almost as happy & contented as himself, & that not one of his children wishes to see this Seat his own.[20]

or on that other country seat, Stanton Harcourt: "The great hall is high & spatious, flank'd with long tables, images of ancient hospitality."[21]

In both letters Pope praises this aspect of English country life, which in the course of social changes and their accompanying architectural styles had fallen into disuse, but which Pope tried to revive at Twickenham. In 1718 Pope uttered his first thoughts on the function of his house, always seen in relation to his friends:

> For you (Jervas) my Structure rise; for you my Colonnades extend their Wings; for you my Groves aspire, and Roses bloom. And, to say truth, I hope Posterity (which no doubt, will be made acquainted with all these things) will look upon it as one of the principal Motives of my Architecture, that it was a Mansion prepar'd to receive you.[22]

Hospitality was dispensed in an environment of "enchanted bowers, silver streams, opening avenues, rising mounts and painted grottos."[23] Life in these magic surroundings was characterised by ease:

> Consider the ease, the quiet, the contentment of soul and repose of body, which you will feel, when stretched in an elbow chair, mum for your breakfast, chine and potatoes for dinner, and a dose of wine to vie you up to slumbers in the evening, without some sermons to preach and no family duty to pay.[24]

To his friend Digby Pope gave similar reasons for building his house:

> The best account of what I am building is, that it will afford me a few pleasant Rooms for such Friends as your-

[20] Sherburn, II, 239.

[21] Sherburn, I, 505.

[22] Sherburn, II, 24.

[23] Elwin, VIII (Correspondence III), 40 (No. 11).

[24] Elwin, VIII (Correspondence III), 40 (No. 11).

> self, or a cool situation for an hour or two for Lady Scudamore, when she will do me the Honour (at this Publick House on the Road) to drink her own Cyder.[25]

Pope based his ideal of hospitality on that experienced at the traditional country seats like Coleshill and Grinstead:

> I am strongly inclined to think there are at this very day at Grinstead, certain antique charities and obsolete devotions yet in being: that a thing call'd Christian cheerfullness, (not incompatible with Christmas-pies and plum-broth) whereof frequent is the mention in old sermons and almanacs, is really kept alive and in practice at the said place: That feeding the hungry, and giving alms to the poor, do yet make a part of good housekeeping in a latitude not more remoted from London than forty miles; and lastly that prayers and roast beef, do actually make some folks happy, as a whore and a bottle.[26]

In the city, however, different values reign supreme:

> But here in town, I assure you, men, women and children have done with these things. Charity not only begins but ends at home. Instead of the four cardinal virtues, now reign four courtly ones: we have cunning for prudence, rapine for justice, time-serving for fortitude, and luxury for temperance.[27]

Pope placed his house and way of living in the tradition of hospitality: "for indeed my house is too like the house of a patriarch in the Old Testament, receiving all comers."[28] The image of the patriarch is a favourite of Pope's and it also used in a letter to Bethel:

> For though my house is like the house of a Patriarch of old standing by the highway side, and receiving all travellers, nevertheless I seldom go to bed without the reflection, that one's chief business is to be readily at home.[29]

In 1743 Pope's landlady Mrs. Vernon died, and the house and garden were offered to him for sale. Pope did not accept the offer:

[25] Sherburn II,45.

[26] Sherburn, I, 457.

[27] Elwin-Courthope, IX (Correspondence IV), 90 (No. 18).

[28] Elwin-Courthope, IX (Correspondence IV), No. 187.

[29] Elwin-Courthope, IX (Correspondence IV), 150 (No. 2).

> If I thought any very particular friend would be pleased to live in it after my death (for, as it is, it serves all my purposes as well, during life) I would purchase it; and more particularly could I hope two things, that the friend who should like it, was so much younger and healthier than myself, as to have a prospect of its continuing mine. But most of those I love are travelling out of the world, not into it, and unless I have such a view given me, I have no vanity nor pleasure that does not stop short of the grave.[30]

Pope's villa fulfilled all the required purposes; it offered Pope the seclusion where he could withdraw from the contemporary world and its vices, and where he could cultivate those values he treasured so much. His surroundings offered him the means to associate with a past in which his system of values was still the foundation of daily life.

Pope's villa adhered to the requirements set down in the Epistle to Burlington; the size of the house was adapted to his needs, the overall principles being those of use and sense. Although the motto: 'surprize, vary and conceal the Bounds' was not realised in the outward appearance of the villa, these principles were reflected in the layout of his garden and grotto. Pope's house became during his lifetime a living testimony to a way of life based on traditional values.

3. Descriptions of Netley Abbey, Stanton Harcourt and Sherborne Castle

During the summer of 1734 Pope went on a yacht trip accompanied by his host, Charles Mordaunt, during which he visited Netley Abbey and Castle. He was quite impressed by the ruins: "I have been at the Ruins of the finest Abbey & Castle I ever saw."[1] He had prepared himself well for the trip and had read his Camden, however he was "surprized that Camden take no notice of"[2] these

[30] Elwin-Courthope, IX (Correspondence IV), 160 (No. 14).

[1] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), III, 430.

[2] Sherburn, III, 430. (Camden made tours of antiquarian investigation through England and published The Britannia in 1856; an enlarged edition followed in 1607.)

ruins. Pope left us a rather extensive description of Netley Castle:

> When we came to the Shore we were both struck with the beauty of it, a rising Hill very deeply hung with Woods, that fell quite into the Water, & at the Edge of the Sea a very old min'd Castle. We were very hungry, but the aspects of the Towers & the high crumbling Battlements, overgrown with Ivy, with a square Room in the middle out of which three arches you see the Main sea, & all the windings of the Coast on the Side next to us, provoked us first to look in, in order to chuse the best place to dine in.[3]

followed by a fairly exact account of Netley Abbey:

> The Shell... of a Church, not much less than the Body of that at Westminster, a whole side of windows entire, to the number great arches; the End window over the Altar vastly high, & the whole wrought finely with old Gothic ornaments: one Part of the Roof, which seemed to have been under the Steeple, was yet standing, but Look'd terribly, it was above 60 feet high, & hung like Net Work, so thin & so fine, over our heads: No part of Westminster Abbey is more ornamented.[4]

Both descriptions reveal a delight in and a certain knowledge of medieval and Gothic architecture, in particular their ornamental aspects. In Bristol Pope visited the College Green which he found pretty, and in the middle of which stood "a very fine old Cross of Gothic curious work"[5] which had been spoiled "with the folly of newly gilding it, that takes away all the Venerable Antiquity."[6] The possessors of this work of art obviously appreciated it less than Pope did. Not only did they ruin its "Venerable Antiquity" but they sold it as well. In 1763 the old Gothic Cross was removed to Stourhead and thereby probably saved from destruction.

Netley Abbey and Castle were reduced to ruins, overgrown with ivy, and of this picturesque scene Pope said he was struck "with the beauty of it." The Gothic itself is given the epithet "Venerable." In order to deduce more carefully what other aspects of medieval

[3] Sherburn, III, 427, note 3, as quoted in Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 87.

[4] Sherburn, III, 427, note 3, as quoted in Brownell, pp. 87-88.

[5] Sherburn, IV, 204-205.

[6] Sherburn, IV, 202-205.

architecture struck Pope, two of his letters dealing with country houses more extensively must be taken into consideration. The country houses described in these letters are Stanton Harcourt and Sherborne Castle. Both houses were built in the Tudor style in which many Gothic architectural elements were employed, as well as an asymmetrical plan.

Pope sent off two descriptions of Stanton Harcourt, one to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu[7] and one to the Duke of Buckingham.[8] Pope promised Lady Mary a "true picture of a genuine country seat," whereas he wrote to the Duke of Buckingham:

> I have been reading the description of Pliny's house with an eye to yours, but finding they will bear no comparison, will try if it can be matched by the large country-seat I inhabit at present, and see what figure it may make by the help of a florid description. (p.508)

The Duke of Buckingham's London house was considered

> one of the great beauties of London, both by reason of its situation and its building. It fronted the Mall and at the back was a fine garden and a noble terrace, whence the eye roamed over a wide rural prospect, so free from obstrusive buildings as to justify the inscription placed by the duke on his front, 'rus in urbe.'[9]

Pope warns both recipients that his description matches the house in its irregularity:

> You must expect nothing regular in my description of a House that seems to be built before Rules were in fashion; the house is so disjointed & the parts so detached from each other and yet so joining again one cannot tell how, that in a poetical Fit you'd imagine it had been a Village in Amphion's time, where twenty Cottages had taken a dance together, were all Out, and stood still in amazement ever since. (p. 505)

[7] Sherburn, I, 505-508.

[8] Sherburn, I, 509-511.

[9] J. Alfred Gotch, The English Home from Charles I to George IV (London: Batsford, 1918), p. 171.

The irregularity of the exterior is repeated in the interior layout:

> You must excuse me, if I say nothing of the Front; indeed I do not know which it is. A stranger would be grievously disappointed, who endeavour'd to get into the house the right way. One would reasonably expect after the entry through the Porch to be into the Hall: alas! nothing less! you find yourself in the house of office. From the parlour you think you step into the drawing room, but upon opening the iron-nail'd door, you are convinc'd by a flight of birds about your ears, and a cloud of dust in your eyes, that it is the Pigeon-house. (p. 509)

At the very beginning of the letter Pope established two important facts. Firstly that the lines "He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds/ Surprizes, varies and conceals the Bounds" of the Epistle to Burlington are actually realised at Stanton Harcourt. Secondly, the relative unimportance of the rules and of the treatment of the front, which in Pope's day were considered to be of the utmost significance in architectural design. In writing this description Pope puts himself forward as the defender of an older, more humane architecture, whose appeal to him is enhanced by its irregularity and its Romantic associations.

The room dealt with most extensively is the great hall, which "is high and spacious, flank'd on one side with a very long table, a true image of ancient hospitality" (p. 509). This hall used to be the centre of the house, where hospitality was dispensed on a large scale. However, these days are bygone: "In this Hall, in former days have dined Garter'd Knights & Courtly Dames with Ushers, Sewers, and Seneshalls; And yet it was but tother night that an Owl flew hither and mistook it for a Barn." (p. 506). Pope's attention is drawn specifically towards the windows:

> Here is one vast arch'd Window beautifully darken'd with divers Scutcheons of painted Glass: One shining Pane in particular bears the date 1286, which alone preserves the memory of the Knight whose iron armour is long since perish'd with rust, and whose alabaster nose is moulder'd from his monument. (p. 509)

The images of some members of the family are to be found on the windows, like that of Dame Eleanor. Pope finds this particularly appropriate: "There seems to be great propriety in this old manner of Blazoning upon Glass, Ancient Families being like ancient Windows, in the course of generations seldom free from Cracks." (p. 506)

Glass also expresses most appropriately the frailty of tradition: "And yet, must not one sigh to reflect, that the most authentic record of so ancient a family should lye at the mercy of ev'ry Boy that throws a stone." (p. 506). Or, put in other words, is one not to sigh at the thought that those preferring a new taste destroy the old system of values. The metaphor of glass is well chosen, showing the fragility of certain traditions. The theme of destruction, already hinted at in the description of the window, becomes more prominent in the account of the parlour:

> It is furnished with Historical Tapestry, whose marginal Fringes do confess the moisture of the air. The other contents of this room are a broken-belly'd Virginal, a couple of crippled Velvet chairs, with two or three mildew'd Pictures of mouldy Ancestors, who look as dismally as if they came fresh from Hell with all their Brimstone about 'em. (p. 506)

The dismal look of the ancestors may be occasioned by the decay of their surroundings, "for the windows being every where broken, make it so convenient a place to dry Poppies and Mustard-seed in, that the room is appropriated to that use." (p. 506)

Up to this point both letters are quite similar in their description of Stanton Harcourt, although the exact number of ground floor apartments is given as either 26 (p.510) or 24 (p.506). The kitchen is only mentioned in the letter to the Duke of Buckingham (p.510), and described in horrendous terms, evoking a Gothic mood:

> The Kitchen is built in form of the Rotunda, being one vast Vault to the Top of the House; where one overture serves to let out the smoak, and let in the light. By the blackness of the walls, the circular fires, vast caldrons, yawning mouths of ovens and furnaces, you would think it either the forge of Vulcan, the cave of Polypheme, or the temple of Moloch. (p. 510)

This room with its mood of horror "has made such an impression on the country people, that they believe the Witches keep their Sabbath here, and that once a year the Devil treats them with infernal venison, a roasted Tiger stuff'd with tenpenny nails." (p. 510)

The tour of this "venerable" house is then continued upstairs, which is quite as decayed as the ground floor: "were it not for this only furniture, the whole would be a miserable scene of naked walls, flawed ceilings, broken windows, and rusty locks." (p.510)

The only inhabitants of these rooms are rats

> whose very Age renders them worthy of this Seat, for the very rats of this venerable house are grey: since they have not yet quitted it, we hope at least that this ancient mansion may not fall during the remnant these poor animals have to live, who are not too infirm to remove to another. (p. 510)

What Pope offers us to this point is quite similar to the description of a castle out of a Gothic novel. All the ingredients are present: decay, a ruinous state of affairs, rats, an atmosphere of horror. Even the animals are the right ones - rats and owls. What is still missing are the most prominent features of the Gothic novel, the murder and the ghost, and these are presented in the last part of the letter. To present the reader with the ghost and to relate its story a narrator is needed, who, of course, is a "starched grey-headed steward, who is as much an antiquity as any in this place" (p. 510). This steward first informs his visitor about the sad history of Sir Thomas:

> This, says he, with tears, was poor Sir Thomas! once master of all this drink. He had two sons, poor young masters! who never arrived to the age of his beer; they both fell ill in this very room, and never went out on their own legs. (p. 511)

He then conducts Pope up to the tower,

> by dark winding stone steps, which landed us into several little rooms one above another. One of these was nailed up, and our guide whispered to us as a secret the occasion of it: it seems the course of this noble blood was a little interrupted about two centuries ago, by a freak of Lady Frances, who was here taken in the fact with a neighbouring Prior, ever since which the room has been nailed up, and branded with the name of Adultery-Chamber. The ghost of Lady Frances is supposed to walk there, and some prying maids of the family report that they have seen a lady in a farthingale through the keyhole. (p. 511)

The ghost is the climax of the description, after this Pope takes his leave of the house. The extensive account of this house and some of its former inhabitants and the sometimes burlesque Gothic descriptions indicate the delight Pope took in the house. Its disorder and its general atmosphere certainly stimulated his imagination. But not only his personal delight, also the need to preserve the memory of this house had induced him to write this

extensive description:

> I must needs have tired you by this long description: but what engaged me in it, was a generous principle to preserve the memory of that, which itself must soon fall into dust; nay, perhaps part of it, before this letter reaches your hands.
>
> Indeed we owe this old house the same kind of gratitude that we do to an old friend, who harbours us in his declining condition, nay, even in his last extremities. (p. 511)

Pope's gratitude towards this house is based on the fact that it still reflected those traditional values, the loss of which he so deeply regretted. The architectural style of this house "built before the rules were in fashion" was congenial to a way of life Pope treasured.

It is strange that Pope, greatly interested in architecture as he was, left us no detailed description of a Palladian house. Instead he presents us with two long descriptions of rambling Tudor houses. The fact that he almost apologises for the length of the descriptions indicates his awareness of the uncommonness of his sympathy and of his Romanticism, which is the root of his sympathy.

In June 1722 Pope visited Sherborne Castle, the ancestral country seat in Dorset of his friend William Lord Digby. Pope promised Martha Blount, the recipient of his letter,

> An account of Sherborne before I had seen it, or knew what I undertook. I imagined it to be one of those fine old Seats of which there are Numbers scatter'd over England. But this is so peculiar, and its Situation of so uncommon a kind, that it merits a more particular description.[10]

On the estate of Lord Digby there were two castles:

> divided by a lake, (which) stand on opposing hills. The Norman fortress, "slighted" and ruined after two sieges in the Civil War, was originally owned by the Bishops of Salisbury. Sir Walter Raleigh coveted its grandeur and position, and Queen Elizabeth, taking it from the Bishop in 1592, conferred it on her favourite. When Raleigh was disgraced and banished from court on account of his secret marriage, he built the 'new' castle where before there had been a smaller, alternative house or lodge. Until 1800 this was still known as Sherborne Lodge, but 'Castle' de-

[10] Sherburn, II, 236-240.

> scribes better the address of its towers and heraldic pinnacles. This extraordinary building, an example of Elizabethan romanticism, is as exotic as Sir Raleigh himself. He made it rectangular and high, with a picturesque skyline.[11]

Sherborne Castle was granted to Sir John Digby, who later became Earl of Bristol. After his retirement to Sherborne Castle he extended the building by four wings. Although the castle is not built in the Gothic style, it is an unusual combination of Elizabethan Romanticism with Gothic and Jocobean details. Pope's interest in this castle illustrates his basic Romanticism and indicates his deviation from the architectural credo of his friends in the Burlington Circle. Pope's description of the castle conforms largely with its present form:

> The House is in the form of an H. The body of it, which was built by Sir Walter Raleigh, consists of four Stories, with four sixangled Towers at the ends. These have since been join'd to four Wings with a regular Stone Balustrade at the top, & four towers more that finish the building. (p. 236)

Pope's attention is then drawn to the wings, which were added by the Earl of Bristol:

> And one of the flat Sides towards the Garden has the wings of a newer Architecture, with beautiful Italian window-frames, done by the first Earl of Bristol, which, if they were join'd in the middle by a Portico covering the Old Building, would be a noble Front. (p. 307)

Pope could not resist the challenge of making an imaginary design for the portico, but "it is the question whether my Lord Digby will not be better amused than to execute it." Pope then turns his attention to the gardens and describes them in terms which found a later poetic expression in the Epistle to Burlington:

> The Gardens are so Irregular, that it is very hard to give an exact idea of 'em, but by Plan. Their beauty arises from this Irregularity; for not only the Several parts of the Garden itself make the better Contrasts by

[11] Robin Fedden and John Kenworthy Browne, ed., The Country House Guide (London: Jonathan Cape, 1979), pp. 306-307.

> these sudden Rises, Falls, and Turns of ground, but the views about it are let in, & hang over the Walls in very different figures and aspects.

The irregularity of the house is reinforced in the layout of the gardens; this is the source of beauty in both of them. Pope continues his tour through the gardens:

> When you are at the left corner of the Canal, and the Chestnut groves in the bottom, you turn of a sudden under very old trees into the deepest Shade. One Walk winds you up a Hill of venerable Wood, overarch'd by nature, and of a vast height, into a circular Grove, on one side of which is a close high Arbour, on the other a sudden open Seat, that overlooks the Meadows & river with a large distant prospect. (p.238)

This description carries within it reminiscences of the forest theory which was thought to be the origin of Gothic architecture: the walk lined with "very old trees" and "overarch'd by nature" which leads into a "circular Grove." It carries the imagery of the aisle leading towards the apse. The garden architecture enhances the Romantic mood: "In view of this, is a Bridge, that crosses the Stream, built in the same ruinous taste: the Wall of the Garden hanging over it humour'd so as to appear the Ruin of another Arch or two above the bridge." (p. 238)

From these sham ruins the path leads towards an original ruin already mentioned by Pope earlier in this letter: "and is crowned with several venerable ruins of an old castle, with arches and broken views, of which I must say more hereafter." The path towards the ruin sets the mood:

> On the left, full behind these old Trees, which make this whole Part inexpressibly awful & solemn, runs a little, old, low wall, beside a Trench cover'd with Elder trees & Ivyes; which being crost by another bridge, brings you to the Ruins, to compleat the Solemnity of the Scene. (p. 238)

The mood becomes Gothic, indicated by "awful & solemn" and enforced by the "Elder trees & Ivyes." Having followed the path,

> You first see an older Tower penetrated by a large Arch, and others above it, thro' which the whole Country appears in prospect, even when you are at the top of the other ruins, for they stand very high & the Ground slopes down on all sides. These venerable broken Walls, some

> Arches almost entire of thirty or forty feet deep, some open like Portico's with fragments of pillars, some circular or inclosed on three sides, but exposed at top, with Steps which Time had made of disjointed Stones, to climb to the highest points of the Ruins; These, I say, might have a prodigious Beauty, mix'd with Greens and Parterres from part to part; and the whole Heap standing as it does on a round hill, kept smooth in green turf, which makes a bold Basement to show it. (p. 238)

The paths should lead the visitor from one view to another "which are more romantic than imagination can form them" (p. 303). The ruins have a picturesque and an associative value, which Pope explains to Martha Blount:

> What should induce my Lord D. the rather to cultivate these ruins and do honour to them, is that they do no small honour to his Family, that Castle, which was very ancient, being demolished in the Civil wars, after it was nobly defended by one of his Ancestors in the cause of the king. (p. 239)

Pope has a mind to enforce the associative value by setting up at the entrance to them an obelisk "with an inscription of the fact; which would be a monument erected to the very ruins." (No. 54, p. 303). The preservation of the ruins has become a moral issue. The close relationship between architecture and morality is emphasised by Pope towards the end of the letter, where he discusses the character of Lord Digby:

> The Present Master of this place (and I verily believe I can ingage the same for the next Successors) needs not to fear the Record, or shun the Remembrance of the actions of his Forefathers. He will not disgrace them, as most Modern Progeny do, by an unworthy Degeneracy of principle or Practice. When I have been describing his agreeable seat, I cannot make the reflection I have often done upon contemplating the beautiful Villa's of Other Noblemen, rais'd upon the Spoils of plunder'd Nations, or aggrandiz'd by the wealth of the Publick.(p. 239)

Digby's character as well as his seat differ considerably from those of "other noblemen," because "his Goodness and Benevolence extend as far as his territories; that his Tenants live almost as happy & contented as himself; & that not one of his Children wishes to see this Seat his owne." (p. 239) Digby's country seat, which was "not rais'd upon the Spoils of plunder'd Nations, or aggrandiz'd by the wealth of the Publick," reflects Digby's moral character, and this

is emphasised through the treatment of his dependants. Pope's rather long description of the ruins in this letter may imply that to Pope traditional morality is ruined as well, but that there are still people like Digby who "preserve these ruins," or whose life and actions are still based on this traditional morality. Pope furthermore makes the point that Elizabethan architecture is a moral architecture, reflecting the moral standards of the owners.

Although the descriptions of Stanton Harcourt and Sherborne Castle are different in tone and content, they have in common their traditional English architectural style. In both cases Pope favours this style, it being a moral architecture and observing the principles of variety and irregularity. Because it adheres to these principles this architecture becomes a natural architecture.

Pope's last statement in this letter indicates one of the most important reasons for his sympathy with traditional English architecture, its morality. His realisation of the decline of contemporary values made him uphold the value system of a traditional way of life, upon which he also based his own villa: "Believe me ever yours, with a sincerety as old-fashion'd, and as different from Modern Sincerety, as this House, this family, & these ruins, are from the Court, and all its neighbourhood." (p. 240)

Chapter Six: The Literary Influences on the Gothic Revival

It is the aim of this chapter to discuss the development of the literary movement that led to the Gothic Revival, and the part Alexander Pope played in this development. William Harrison's poem on the Woodstock labyrinth marks the beginning of this literary development.[1] This labyrinth was built by Henry II to protect Rosamund from Eleanor, his jealous queen. It was eventually torn down by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, during the building of Blenheim Palace, although Vanbrugh had urged her to preserve it: "Are there any that do not run eagerly to See what Ancient Remains are to be found of Rosamund Bower. It may perhaps be worth some Little Reflection Upon what may be said, if the Very Footsteps of it Are no more to be found."[2]

Unfortunately, Vanbrugh's pleas to save this memorial were to no avail. Harrison calls this ruin a 'romantick dome' and is thereby the first poet to characterise a ruin by the word 'romantick.' In the poem "Gothic is associated with ideas that persisted throughout the whole century: legend, tragedy, transitory and melancholy."[3] Harrison's poem is pervaded by what came to be called the Gothic mood; his poem carries the seeds of this mood. This mood was later employed by Alexander Pope in Eloisa to Abelard (1716), where the mood of the poem is set in the opening lines:

> In these deep solitudes and awful cells,
> Where heav'nly-pensive contemplation dwells,
> And ever-musing melancholy reigns;

as well as in Pope's Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady:

> What beck'ning ghost, along the moonlight shade
> Invites my steps, and points to yonder glade

[1] Paul Frankl, The Gothic, Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 372.

[2] John Vanbrugh, "Reasons Offer'd for Preserving some Part of the Old Manor at Blenheim," in The Genius of the Place, ed. John D. Hunt and Peter Willis (London: Elek Books, 1975), p. 120.

[3] Frankl, p. 372.

> 'Tis she! - but why that bleeding bosom gored,
> Why dimly gleams the visionary sword?

The Gothic mood, so powerfully presented by Pope in the above quoted lines is further developed by Thomas Gray in the Elegy written in a Country Churchyard:

> Now fades the glimmering landscape on the sight,
> And all the air a solemn stillness holds. (ll. 5,6)

and in the lines:

> Save that from yonder ivy-mantled tow'r
> The moping owl does to the moon complain. (ll. 9,10)

Harrison's interest in the Woodstock Labyrinth was a result of his antiquarian enthusiasm. Gray's and Warton's (Pleasures of Melancholy) interest in the Gothic derives from a different source: "Their enthusiasm for Gothic springs from a literary impulse which first made itself felt as antiquarianism was beginning to decline. This literary impulse, if anything, can be called the true starting-point of the Gothic Revival."[4]

Clark, however, leaves out Alexander Pope's Eloisa to Abelard and the Elegy, which certainly spring from a literary impulse and not from antiquarian interest. In view of this, should not the "true starting point of the Gothic Revival" be traced back to 1717, the year which witnessed the publication of Eloisa to Abelard and the Elegy ? Furthermore, the literary impulse was the result of a renewed interest in Shakespeare, whose writings were defended by Pope, Milton and Spenser as sources of the Gothic mood. Clark limits his discussion to Milton and Spenser only:

> But only two early 'Gothic' poets concern us, partly because they were exploiting the mood self-consciously, partly because it was on them that the eighteenth century revival was based. They, of course, are Spenser and Milton. Spenser invented almost all the stage properties of Gothicism which were to furnish the scenery of later poets.[5]

In Hughes's Introduction (1715) to his edition of Spenser, we encounter for the first time the analogy between literature and ar-

[4] Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (London: Redwood Burn, 1974), p. 27.

[5] Clark, p. 28.

chitecture. Both Shakespeare and Spenser needed literary defence for their failure to conform to the prevailing literary standards:

> To compare (The Fairy Queen) therefore with the models of Antiquity would be like drawing a parallel between the Roman and Gothic architecture. In the first there is doubtless a more natural Grandeur and Simplicity, in the latter we find great mixtures of Beauty and Barbarism, yet assisted by the invention of Vanity of Inferior Ornaments, and though the former is more majestic in the whole, the latter may be very surprising in its parts.[6]

Here we have the association of Spenser's Fairy Queen, or of a literary work, with Gothic architecture, including a criticism of certain aspects of this architectural style which were to be repeated throughout the first half of the eighteenth century: lack of unity and the predominance of ornamentation. Hughes exhibits a certain appreciation of the Gothic but his main sympathy is with Roman architecture. Pope goes much further in his analogy between Shakespeare and the Gothic in the Preface to Shakespear (1725):

> I will conclude by saying of Shakespear, that with all his faults, and with all the irregularity of his Drama, one may look upon his works in comparison of those that are more finish'd and regular, as upon an ancient piece of Gothick Architecture, compar'd with a neat Modern Building: the Latter is more elegant and daring, but the Former is more strong and solemn. It must be allow'd, that in one of these there are materials enough to make many of the other. It has much the greater variety, and much the nobler apartments; tho' we are often conducted to them by dark, odd and uncouth passages. Nor does the Whole fail to strike us with greater reverence, tho' many of the parts are childish, ill-plac'd and unequal to its grandeur.[7]

For Pope a Gothic building is characterised by strength, solemnity and reverence. Pope goes as far as carrying a Vitruvian principle into Gothic architecture, that of unity. It is the whole that strikes him, not the division into parts. The grandeur formerly attributed to classical architecture is, as far as Pope is concerned, realised in Gothic architecture as well. Pope's Preface to Shakespear con-

[6] Clark, p. 32.

[7] Alexander Pope, "Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear'," in Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare, ed. D. Nichol Smith (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 58.

tains a twofold praise, for Shakespeare and for the Gothic. The importance of Shakespeare and Spenser in this context lies in the fact that through them Gothic architecture came to be appreciated:

> Shakespeare and Spenser would be appreciated before a Gothic cathedral; and in fact it was the analogous forms of these great writers which shed lustre on the despised architectural style. Above all it was Shakespeare so unmistakably great in defiance of all the rules of Aristotle who broke the back of classical prejudice. If Aristotle's rules could be defied with success, why not those of Vitruvius, too. Gothic architecture crept in through a literary analogy.[8]

Pope's defence of Shakespeare becomes even more powerful in considering Shakespeare's source of inspiration to be Nature:

> If ever any Author deserved the name of an Original, it was Shakespear . Homer himself drew not his art so immediately from the fountains of Nature, it proceeded through Aegyptian strainers and came to him not without some tincture of learning, or some cast of the models, of those before him. The poetry of Shakespear was Inspiration indeed, he is not so much an Imitator, as an Instrument of Nature; and 'tis not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks thro' him.[9]

If Shakespeare and Gothic are analagous, and if Shakespeare "drew from the fountains of Nature," then the Gothic too finds its inspiration in Nature. This was revolutionary in 1725, when only Classicism was considered to be rooted in Nature. Pope presented a new interpretation of the Gothic, which was essential for the development towards the Gothic Revival. Pope in fact 'naturalised' the Gothic. Shakespeare's influence on Gothic novels increased in the course of the eighteenth century:

> Gothic novels were utterly dependent on Shakespeare. His plots, his dramatic situations and his characters were borrowed. Macbeth and Hamlet were most influential, providing as they do models for almost every kind of dramatic crisis by which men's passions are revealed. Shakespeare's plays provided a picturesque vocabulary of feelings which satisfied the current taste for highly wrought emotions and inflated language.[10]

[8] Clark, p. 33.

[9] D.N. Smith, p. 54-55.

[10] C.A. Howells, Love, Mystery and Misery; Feeling in Gothic Fiction (London: The Athlone Press, 1978), p. 5.

The actual influence of Shakespeare on the architectural settings of the Gothic romances is "vague at best."[11] Highly influential was Shakespeare's part in providing the atmosphere: "the association of castles and ruins with tragic scenes and melancholy emotions is the only contribution of Shakespeare to the setting of the Gothic romances."[12]

A further important influence towards the appreciation of medieval literature, and especially its literary expression, the ballad, was Chevy Chase, discussed by "C" in the Spectator Nos. 70 and 74. Chevy Chase was the Battle of Otterburn, fought in 1388 during the reign of Richard II of England and Robert II of Scotland. The interesting fact of this article is that the author defends the ballad by stating that it is rooted in Nature and resembles in content the heroic poem, thereby making this medieval literary art form acceptable to the Augustan reading public. The ballad is characterised by its simplicity of thought, which is

> the delight of common people and cannot fail to please all such readers as are not unqualified for the entertainment by their affection or ignorance; and the reason is plain, because the same painting of nature, which recommends it to the most ordinary reader, will appear beautiful to the most refined.[13]

Furthermore, praise is bestowed on the ballad for the fact "that the sentiments in that ballad are extremely natural and poetical, and full of the majestic simplicity which we admire in the greatest of the ancient poets."[14] A further parallel is drawn here between the ballad and Classical poetry. The last argument of the Spectator's exposé is that fortunately the ballad is not written in the Gothic manner, although the poet "describes a bloody battle and dreadful scenes of death."[15] Then "If this song had been written in the Gothic manner, which is the delight of all our little wits, whether writers or readers, it would not have hit the taste

[11] W. Smith, Architecture in English Fiction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 75.

[12] W. Smith, p. 55.

[13] The Spectator, II, 43, (No. 70),

[14] The Spectator, II, 62, (No. 74).

[15] The Spectator, II, 44, (No. 70).

of so many ages, and have pleased the readers of all ranks and conditions."[16] In all, our author shows very little understanding of Gothicism, he did, however, acquaint the Augustan reading public with a medieval literary art form.

An early author of Gothic poetry "with an accumulation of terror"[17] is David Mallet, a contemporary of Pope, of whose Excursion (1726) Clark writes: "Here is the essence of Gothic poetry, so rich in all the machinery and melancholy."[18] Exemplary for its Gothic mood are the following lines:

> Behind me rises huge and awful Pile,
> Sole in this blasted Heath, a Place of Tombs,
> Waste, desolate, where Ruin dreary dwells,
> Brooding, o'er sightless Sculls, and crumbling Bones.
> Ghastful he sits, and eyes with Stedfast Glare
> The Column grey with Moss, the falling Bust,
> The Time-Shook Arch, the monumental Stone,
> Impaired, effac'd, and hastening into Dust,
> Unfaithful to their Charge of flattering Fame
> All is dread Silence here, and undisturb'd,
> Save what the Wind sighs, and the wailing Owl
> Screams solitary to the mournful Moon,
> Glimmering her western Ray through yonder Isle,
> Where the sad Spirit walks with shadowy Foot,
> His wonted Round, or lingers o'er this Grave.

Pope's Eloisa to Abelard, although published seven years previously, is similar in tone, mood and imagery:

> But o'er the twilight groves and dusky caves,
> Long-sounding isles, and intermingled graves,
> Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws
> A death-like silence, and a dread repose:
> Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,
> Shades ev'ry flow'r, and darkens ev'ry green,
> Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,
> And breathes a browner horror on the woods.

Robson-Scott's evaluation of the Excursion can also be applied to Eloisa to Abelard. Both poems have "all the ingredients of Gothic poetry presented with a most terrifying completeness: blasted heaths,

[16] The Spectator, II, 68, (No. 74).
[17] Clark, p. 30.
[18] Clark, p. 31.

moss-grown ruins, desolate tombs, crumbling skeletons, melancholy moonlight, wailing owls, and lingering ghost."[19]

Both poems set a mood which was perfected by the Graveyard School, and which

> combined the general philosophic and religious conceptions of the latter (i.e. 18th century contemplative verse) with the details of the charnel house and physical dissolution of the former (i.e. the earlier funeral elegy of the 17th and early 18th centuries.) The terror of the tomb had been vividly depicted by Donne, Quarles, Jordan and Vaughan. Common elements of this poetry are melancholy, subjective tone, vague longings together with ghosts, chains, tombs and veils.[20]

The main representatives of this poetic school were Parnell with Night Piece on Death (1722), Young with Night Thoughts (1742), Blair with The Grave (1743) and Gray with Elegy in a Country Churchyard (1751). Their poetry with "the tones of despair, the odour of the charnel house, meditation on the shadow of the grave, and the mystery of the future, contained the seeds of the Gothic epoch."[21]

The Graveyard poetry not only presented the reader with the Gothic mood, it also offered the essentials of the poetry of the Gothic Revival, despair, mystery, longing and melancholy. The sexual component, although present in Eloisa to Abelard, is not generally found in Graveyard School poetry. This poetic school stands at the end of the development begun by Harrison and enriched by Hughes and Pope through their defence of Spenser and Shakespeare, and the naturalisation of the Gothic it included, and also by the reassessment of the ballad, which were all to lead to the Gothic Revival.

[19] William D. Robson-Scott, The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 35-36.

[20] Devendra P. Varma, The Gothic Flame (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), p. 27.

[21] Varma, p. 28.

Chapter Seven: Romantic Aspects in Four Literary Works of Alexander Pope

It is the aim of this chapter to examine the following literary works of Alexander Pope for their Pre-Romantic aspects and tendencies: An Essay on Criticism (1711), Eloisa to Abelard (1717), Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady (1717) and Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear' (1725).

The literary critic Dennis, an authority on Augustan literary doctrine and Pope's personal and literary opponent, defines Nature in the Horatian tradition. Dennis states that Horace

> makes it clear as the Sun, what it is to follow Nature in giving us a draught of human Life, and of the manners of Men, and that is, not to draw after particular Men, who are but Copies and imperfect Copies of the great Universal Pattern; but to consult that innate Original, and the Universal Idea, which the Creator has fix'd in the minds of ev'ry reasonable Creature.[1]

Pope interpreted the concept of 'to follow Nature' in quite a different way, which he states clearly in his defence of Shakespeare. He says of Shakespeare's characters that they "are so much Nature herself, that 'tis a sort of injury to call them by so distant a name as Copies of her .... every single Character in Shakespeare as much an Individual as those in Life itself."[2] To follow Nature is interpreted as putting the main emphasis on individual traits. The difference in interpretation of this Augustan concept also influences the aim of poetry, which is described by Dennis as "to bring Mankind from Irregularity, Extravagance, and Confusion, to Rule and Order, how this should be done by a thing that is in itself Irregular and

[1] John Dennis, "Reflections upon a late Rhapsody called An Essay upon Criticism," as quoted in W.J. Bate, From Classic to Romantic (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1964), p. 10.

[2] Alexander Pope, "Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear'," in Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare, ed. D. Nichol Smith (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 55.

and Extravagant is difficult to conceive."[3] Pope, however, considers the aim of poetry to be:

> From vulgar bounds with brave disorder part,
> And snatch a grave beyond the reach of art,
> Which without passing thro' the judgment, gains
> The heart, and all its end at once attains.
>
> (Essay on Criticism, ll. 154-157)

Pope clearly diverges from the Augustan literary path. Dennis, as a true Augustan places the emphasis on man in general and on rational judgement, whereas Pope, as in the Pre-Romantic tradition, considers the individual and the emotions to be the most important factor. The emphasis on the individual as opposed to man in general led to the emergence of the man of feeling and to the concept of sensibility:

> The reaction against reason, logic, learning, self-discipline and convention produced the special form of sensibility which we identify with the early stages of the romantic movement. Bruyère had written that no gentleman should reveal his emotions: thereafter the man of feeling emerged.[4]

Closely related to sensibility, or the awareness of the emotions is melancholy, another Pre-Romantic characteristic: "when the sensitive heart turned inwards to contemplate itself, it became conscious of its own melancholy."[5] Melancholy was accompanied by special "machinery" which is not only used throughout the eighteenth century Gothic novel, but already employed by Pope in Eloisa to Abelard. Melancholy achieves its full impact through an atmosphere of "ivy-covered walls and moss-grown domes," through grottos, caverns, shrines and "pale-lamps" as well as through the quality of light. Pope was well aware of the impact of the natural surroundings on melancholy. At approximately the same time as he finished Eloisa to Abelard, he wrote to Teresa and Martha Blount his impressions of a visit to Stonor:

> On Thursday I went to Stonor, which I have long had a mind to see since the romantic description you gave me

[3] Bate, p. 14.

[4] Harold Nicolson, The Age of Reason (London: Constable & Co. 1964), p. 393.

[5] Lilian Fürst, Romanticism in Perspective (New York, London: St. Martin's Press, 1969), p. 29.

> of it. The Melancholy which my Wood, and this Place have spread over me, will go near to cast a cloud upon the rest of my letter, if I don't make haste to conclude it here. I know you wish my happiness so much, that I would not have you think I have any other reason to be melancholy.[6]

Pope then continues the letter by stating extensively what brought this melancholy over him:

> Nothing could have more of that Melancholy which once us'd to please me, than that days journey: For after having Pass'd thro' my favourite Woods in the Forest, with a thousand Reveries of past Pleasures; I rid over hanging hills, whose tops were edg'd with Groves, & whose feet water'd with winding rivers, listening to falls of Cataracts below, & the murmuring of Winds above. The gloomy Verdure of Stonor succeeded to these, & then the Shades of Evening overtook me, the Moon rose in the clearest Sky I ever saw, by whose solemn light I pac'd on slowly, without company, or any interruption to the range of my thoughts.[7]

In both letters Pope shows his susceptibility to an atmosphere of melancholy, brought forth by the natural surroundings and the impression they made on him, like the "gloomy Verdure."

In the above quoted letters we detect signs of Pre-Romantic tendencies in Pope's writings, which will be further explored in the above mentioned literary works.

1. An Essay on Criticism

Pope wrote the Essay at the age of twenty-three, and this major literary work of his can be characterised as "a young man's book, confident, assertive, dogmatic, as ambitious in its generalizations as it is uninhibited in tone and sharp utterances,"[8] and as "a test-piece, a proof to the world of having mastered the technical studies of a poet."[9] As the Essay is Pope's first work on literary criticism,

[6] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 429.

[7] Sherburn, I, 429-430.

[8] Peter Quennell, Alexander Pope: The Education of Genius, 1688-1728 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968), p. 32.

[9] Austin Warren, Alexander Pope as a Critic and Humanist (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), p. 3.

attempting to achieve recognition in the early eighteenth century, in which Dennis reigned supreme, it cannot be expected to contain too many new ideas or to diverge too far from contemporary literary dogma. Three main principles underlie Pope's reasoning: "that all sound judgment and true wit is founded on the observation of nature, that false wit arises from a disregard of nature and an excessive affection for the conceptions of the mind and that the true standard for determining what is natural in poetry is to be found in the best work of the ancients."[10] This is the Augustan doctrine in a nutshell, and thus far Pope did pay his respects to the reigning literary criteria. However, his independence of mind is shown by his attack on Dennis, the foremost Augustan critic. Pope refers to Dennis in the lines 585 to 587:

> But Appius reddens at each work you speak,
> And stares tremendous, with a threat'ning eye,
> Like some fierce Tyrant in old tapestry.

Dennis was knownto be excessively fond of the word 'tremendous.' Pope compares Dennis to a tyrant because of his insistence on the application of the rules, the adherence to which he maintained was the only criterion to be applied to a literary work of art. Pope's rather mild squib was answered with the most vicious attacks by Dennis, directed not only at the Essay but at Pope's person as well.[11]It is even thought that the Essay was motivated by spite against Dennis for having ignored his Pastorals. Reeves also considered the Essay "a piece of calculated effrontery against Dennis."[12] Whatever the exact reason for Pope's attack might have been, one aspect stands out clearly; Pope does not pay obeisance to this Augustan critic, but calls him a tyrant, thereby indirectly criticising the over-importance attached to the rules in judging poetry. Pope thought of Dennis as one of those who "write dull receits how poems may be made." (l. 115)

[10] William John Courthope, The Life of Alexander Pope (London: Bradbury, Agnew & Co., 1889), p. 49.

[11] J.V. Guerinot, Pamphlet Attacks on Alexander Pope (London: Methuen & Co., 1969), pp. 1-11.

[12] James Reeves, The Reputation and Writings of Alexander Pope (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976), p. 127.

The criticisms of An Essay on Criticism have been, at least some of them, devastating. The best illustration of this is the critique by an anonymous writer published in the Times Literary Supplement of December 28, 1961:

> It is not that its critical content is in any clear sense original. It is rather a capsule which contains, in a mere 700 odd lines, the essence of Dryden's liberal neoclassicism recast in bold and well-fashioned rhyming slogans. The matter is 'all stolen' as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu rudely put it. More seriously, it is disfigured by Pope's characteristic evasiveness and repellent self-pity. His original contribution to Augustan criticism is slight.[13]

Similar criticism is voiced by Fraser:

> An Essay on Criticism is not important for its originality, every thought in it is a common place, and often a shallow one of the criticism of Pope's time. ...It is less worth reading for its general ideas (Pope was never a powerful or original thinker) than for its illustrations of them.[14]

The main tenet of both pieces of criticism, that the Essay was not a very important contribution to Augustan literary criticism, but in fact only a 'slight' one, must be agreed with. Pope paid lip service to contemporary literary dogmas. His own poetic criteria were quite different, as will be shown in the analysis of the Essay. The three other charges against the Essay are its evasiveness, the fact that most of the ideas are derivative of Dryden, and its lack of originality.

The fault of evasiveness is the result of Pope's position as a young poet. He wanted to gain recognition as an artist through his work, although he did not quite believe in the prevailing literary dogmas. Evasiveness offered the only escape from this dilemma. The second charge cannot hold good in view of the imposing list of authors Pope derived his ideas from, ranging from the ancients, the Renaissance critics, the seventeenth century French critics, to Restoration and contemporary English poets.[15] Of the literary

[13] Reeves, p. 133.

[14] George Fraser, Alexander Pope (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 35-36.

[15] Reeves, p. 134.

sources, only three will be dealt with more extensively: Longinus, Dryden and Boileau, as they furnished Pope with ideas and arguments which enabled him to escape the narrow boundaries of Neo-Classical literary theory, and most specifically the rules. The relevance of the rules is questioned by Pope in the lines 141-145:

> Some beauties yet no Precepts can declare,
> For there's a happiness as well as care.
> Music resembles Poetry, in each
> Are nameless graces, which no methods teach,
> And which a master-hand alone can reach.

Pope's distrust of the rules extends from poetry to architecture and gardening: "Conscious they act a true Palladian part,/ And if they starve, they starve by rules of art." (Epistle to Burlington, ll. 37,38) Pope's previous reading had acquainted him with a more liberated view towards the rules, especially in the writings of Longinus and Dryden, who had

> advocated that rules should be stretched or broken in preference to sacrificing any great beauty. This is a most important opinion because it shows the emergence of a new approach in literary criticism: the evaluation of a work of art by positive aesthetic standards, i.e. the appreciation of its beauties, rather than by the negative pedantic yardstick of counting its infringements of the rules. This new attitude, in turn, discouraged too strict a formalism, and there were numerous protests against making poetry 'a mere mechanical art' as well as against overmuch moralizing didacticism. The Neo-Classical tenets were thus questioned sooner and more readily in England than in France.[16]

This freer attitude also paved the way for the expression of personal emotions and of passion, through which poetry "gains the heart, and all its end at once attains." The importance of the emotions is strongly phrased in Eloisa to Abelard, where Pope in line 92 "When love is liberty, and nature, law" equates Nature with the emotions. Pope had encountered the awareness of the importance of the emotions and passions in his reading of Longinus'

[16] Fürst, p. 23.

work "On the Sublime" which was

> an enlarging influence on eighteenth century criticism. Longinus was not in the 'Latin' tradition. He considers in an orderly way the means by which elevations of style may be attained, but his emphasis was all along on passion and intensity. From him may be traced the ancestry of the 'school of taste' which emphasized the 'beauties' of a work of literature rather than its defects. Longinus was particularly qualified to bring a liberalizing impulse to neo-classicists themselves, since he was at once a Greek, a devoted student of Homer and Pindar, and at the same time was so remote in point of view of such criticism, as say, that of Horace.[17]

In the lines 675 to 680 Pope pays his repects to Longinus:

> Thee, bold Longinus, all the Nine inspire,
> And bless their Critic with a Poet's fire.
> An ardent Judge, who zealous in his trust,
> With warmth gives sentence, yet is always just;
> Whose own example strengthens all his laws,
> And is himself that great Sublime he draws.

The 'school of taste' facilitated the breakthrough of Pre-Romanticism, as it centred its attention on beauties which "no Precepts can declare." Those beauties are "nameless graces which no methods teach,/ And which a master-hand alone can reach." (11.144, 145) The importance of the 'school of taste' for the literary development of the eighteenth century is that

> the school of Taste in England both facilitated and in turn drew encouragement from the rising popularity of the famous Greek treatise, attributed to Longinus 'On the Sublime.' The urging of Longinus of the psychological and emotional elements in the creation and understanding of art, his assumption that art should transport as well as persuade, and his emphasis upon boldness and grandeur of conception and upon capacity for the pathetic - that is to say, for the rising of the passions - as all important and inherent aesthetic gifts, served as something of an authoritative rallying for the defense of subjective and emotional taste.[18]

The emphasis placed by Longinus upon the capacity for the pathetic was definitely adhered to by Pope in Eloisa to Abelard and

[17] Warren, p. 11.

[18] Bate, p. 46.

in the Elegy. Longinus' ideas were elaborated upon by Rapin, who "combined a general orthodoxy with a saving sense of the grace beyond the reach of art. His respect for the rules was based on his belief in their utility, he never supposed them to be all sufficient."[19]

A concept of the rules, which Pope must have appreciated and for which he found a further support in the writings of Boileau, was considering them a

> means to an end, and that at times taste might find a more direct road to the heart through the rules should be respected if possible, an interesting and effective work produced in spite of the rules is more estimable than a cold work, which obeys all the dictates of the Aristotelian formalities.[20]

The charge of lack or originality in the Essay on Criticism cannot be upheld, since the Essay is original in regard to the mainstream of Augustan literary criticism in its sometimes implied urging to liberate literary art from the rules, and its insistence on the importance of the emotions and the pathetic. The reader is confronted with a young man's exposé on poetic art, struggling to liberate himself from the rigid formalism of the age, and stating his poetic principle to be "a grace beyond the reach of art." This 'Je ne sais quoi' attitude places Pope in the tradition of the 'school of taste' and guarantees him a rightful place in the Pre-Romantic tradition.

There also exists a direct relationship between Pope and Coleridge, due to Pope's interpretation of wit:

> Pope set out to combine the 17th and 18th century notions of wit, range of imaginative power and bright social criticism. The view of him as tied to a blind 'classicism' is of course quite wrong; he imagined he was striking a balance between Longinus's "The true sublime thrills and transports the reader" and Horace's "Fools admire but men of sense approve." It is a mistake to suppose that his

[19] Warren, p. 19.

[20] Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (London: Redwood Burn, 1974), p. 197.

> use of the word could not come near Coleridge's "Imagination."[21]

Pope's interpretation of Nature "is very much what Coleridge in 'Dejection: An Ode' calls 'the shaping spirit of Imagination.' The great Augustan and the great Romantic are at one in their sense of the sources."[22]

One last unorthodox feature of the Essay is its irregularity:

> The more unorthodox features of the poem are usually overlooked. We need to be reminded for one thing that Pope violated the current literary ideals by neglecting to give his poem a definite pattern. He was not slow to seize upon Horace for a precedent for this antipathy to carefully wrought structure. He spoke of it always, as an "irregular collection of thoughts thrown together as they offered themselves, as Horace's Art of Poetry was, written in imitation of that irregularity," which he even admired and said was beautiful.[23]

In this respect Dennis' criticism that the Essay "is in itself Irregular and Extravagant" may even be called justified. Obviously, Pope's intention at this point in his literary career was not the Augustan one, stated by Dennis as being "to bring Mankind to Rule and Order," but to lead man on to freedom through irregularity, inside and outside, with the emphasis on the individual as opposed to mankind.

As Fraser states that Pope's interpretation of Nature comes very close to Coleridge and that the "great Augustan and the great Romantic are at one in their sense of the sources," it becomes a necessity at this point to probe further into Pope's understanding of Nature, as phrased in the Essay. Already at the very beginning of the Essay, indicating its prominence in Pope's thoughts, his concept of Nature is stated:

> First follow Nature, and your judgment frame
> By her just standard, which is still the same:

[21] W. Empson, "Wit in the Essay on Criticism," in Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack (Hamden: Archon Books, 1964), p. 201.

[22] Fraser, p. 39.

[23] Samuel W. Stevenson, Romantic Tendencies in the Works of Dryden, Addison and Pope (Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1934), p. 238.

> Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,
> One clear, unchang'd, and universal light,
> Life, force, and beauty, most to all impart,
> At once the source, and end, and test of art. (ll. 68-73)

followed by the comparison between Nature and liberty:

> Nature, like Liberty, is but restrain'd
> By the same Laws which first herself ordain'd. (ll. 90-92)

and concluded by the statement: "Nature and Homer, were, he found the same!" (l. 135). In the first quotation Pope considers Nature to be the basis, the fountain of all the arts, from which life, force and beauty derive. In the second quotation Nature is equated with liberty, and in the last one with Homer, of whom Pope wrote: "Be Homer's works your study, and delight,/ Read them by day, and meditate by night." (ll. 124, 125). The prominence given to Homer is a remarkable one and indicates a change within the Neo-Classical ranks:

> The place of primacy which Virgil holds in the Ars is Homer's in the Essay. Of course the contrast must not be taken as wholly representative of personal choice on the part of the critics. Ovid and Pope were also the spokesmen of their ages..... Still, the contrast is significant for the change within the neoclassical ranks. A new theory of poetry is implicit in the preference of the poet of Nature over the poet of Art, and of this Pope did not remain unconscious.[24]

In a letter to Ralph Bridges on April 5, 1708, Pope explains the importance Homer holds for him:

> I will continue to read carefully all I can procure, to make up, that way, for my own want of a Critical understanding in the original Beauties of Homer. Though the greatest of them are certainly those of the Invention and Design, which are not all confin'd to the Language: For the distinguishing Excellencies of Homer are, (by the consent of the best Criticks of all Nations) first in the Manners (which include all the speeches, as being no other than the Representations of each Person's Manners by his words:) and then in that Rapture and Fire, which carries you away with him with that wonderful Force, that no man who has a true Poetical Spirit is Master of himself, while he reads him.[25]

[24] Warren, p. 16.

[25] Sherburn, p. 44.

This letter explains clearly the meaning of the line "Nature and Homer, were, he found, the same." Pope understands Nature to consist of rapture and fire, and its force is so overpowering that one is no longer master of oneself. The emotions take over control from Reason. The dominance of the emotions over Reason is once more stated by Pope towards the end of this letter: "Homer makes you interested and concern'd before you are aware, all at once."[26] The true poet is he who follows Nature or imitates Homer and whose poetry is passionate:

> Let me for once presume t' instruct the times,
> To know the poet from the Man of rhymes:
> 'Tis he, who gives my breast a thousand pains,
> Can make me feel each Passion that he feigns;
> Inrage, compose, with more than magic Art,
> With Pity, and with Terror, tear my heart:
>
> (Epistle to Augustus, ll. 340-345)

The essential elements of poetry described by Pope as heightening the emotional impact are those also found in the Gothic novel: passion, pity and terror, and these were used by Pope with great mastery in Eloisa to Abelard.

Closely related to Pope's interpretation of Nature is his conception of the rules. It is clear that by equating Homer with Nature he reduces the importance of the rules. Pope places them in the proper relationship to Nature: "Learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem;/ to copy Nature is to copy them." (ll. 139, 140) By imitating Homer properly, that is in following his advice on how to move the reader to the effect "that no man who has a true Poetical Spirit is Master of himself," one also observes the ancient rules. Poetry whose aim it is "to gain the heart" achieves this through "beauties which no Precepts can declare." (l. 141). On this proposition Warton wrote in the Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope that "Pope in this passage seems to have remembered one of the essays of Bacon, of which he is known to have been remarkably fond; 'There is no excellent beauty, that hath not some strangeness in the proportion.' "[27] This poetic principle places Pope once more in

[26] Sherburn, I, 44.

[27] Joseph Warton, An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope (London: J. Dodsley, 1777), p. 137.

the Romantic tradition. Pater defines the Romantic character in art as consisting in "the addition of strangeness to beauty."[28] which recalls the above quoted saying of Bacon. The insistence upon this principle also shows Pope's uniqueness in that "the eighteenth century disliked 'strangeness added to beauty;' it disapproved of anything original, exotic, tropical, bizarre for the same reasons that it disapproved of mountains and Gothic architecture."[29]

Pope's apparent delight in and appreciation of a lack of order and of regularity is revealed in the lines:

> In prospects thus, some objects please our eyes,
> Which out of nature's common order rise,
> The shapeless rock, or hanging precipice. (ll. 158-160)

those freer objects have their own beauty:

> Those freer beauties, ev'n in them, see faults.
> Some figures monstrous, and mis-shap'd appear,
> Consider'd singly, or beheld too near,
> Which, but proportion'd to their light, or place,
> Due distance reconciles to form and grace. (ll. 170-174)

Pope's plea to judge a work of art, be it poetry or architecture, by the overall impression it makes on the beholder is also one of the main themes of his Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear', in which he says of Gothic architecture:

> It has much the greater variety, and much the nobler apartments: tho' we are often conducted to them by dark, odd, and uncouth Passages. Nor does the Whole fail to strike us with greater reverence, tho' many of the Parts are childish, ill-plac'd and unequal to its grandeur.[30]

Through Homer and Longinus Pope found the legitimation for his love of the wilder aspects of Nature, and for a new interpretation of Nature, the appeal to the emotions. Homer offered Pope fire and Longinus the 'Je ne sais quoi' school of thought. Pope's insistence on them both in regard to poetry contributed extensively to the Pre-Romantic movement. His indebtedness to Longinus in the Essay on Criticism was recognised:

[28] Henry A. Beers, A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), p. 8.

[29] Beers, p. 44.

[30] Smith, p. 58.

> Since I have mentioned Longinus, who, in his Reflections has given us the same kind of sublime, which he observes in the several passages that occasioned them; I cannot but take notice that our English author has after the same manner examplified several of his precepts in the very precepts themselves.[31]

2. Eloisa to Abelard

On June 3, 1717, The Works of Alexander Pope were published, which contained two very personal poems, Eloisa to Abelard and the Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady. These two poems are unique in their being, as far as content is concerned, outside the Augustan tradition. Pope expresses his personal emotions in these poems and appears in persona at the end of each of them: "The well-sung woes, will sooth my pensive ghost;/ He can best paint 'em, who shall feel 'em most " (Eloisa to Abelard, ll. 365,366) and in the Elegy in line 75: "Poets themselves must fail, like those they sung."

The years 1716 and 1717 witnessed Pope's increasing infatuation with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whom he had met in 1716 and who left for Constantinople on August 1, 1716.[32] As early as March Pope had written to Martha Blount: "The Epistle to Eloisa grows warm, and begins to have some Breathings of the Heart in it, which may make posterity think I was in love."[33] With Lady Mary on her way to Constantinople, Pope could safely express all his romantic feelings to her, and a rapid series of letters followed her through Europe. In August he wrote to her: "I never since pass by the House, but with some sort of Melancholy that we feel upon Seeing the Tomb of a Friend, which only serves to put us in mind of what we have lost "[34]

[31] The Spectator, IV, 273, (No. 253).

[32] Robert Halsband, The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 58 ff.

[33] Sherburn, I, 338.

[34] Sherburn, I, 354.

and in November the following communication was forwarded to her:

> The more I examine my own mind, the more Romantick I find myself. Let them say I am Romantick, so is everyone said to be that either admires a fine thing, or praises one: 'Tis no wonder such people are thought mad, for they are as much out of the way of common Understanding as if they were mad, because they are in the right.[35]

The importance of the above quoted letter lies in the fact that Pope elaborates on the word 'romantick,' which is very much in line with Mario Praz's discussion of the use of this word:

> But a new current in taste can be discerned right from the beginning of the eighteenth century: there is a growing tendency to recognize the importance of imagination in works of art. 'Romantic', though continuing to mean something slightly absurd, takes on the flavour of attractive, suited to please the imagination.[36]

Even in Pope's letter, the word 'romantick' still carries the negative connotation of romantic people being thought of as mad because they are "out of the way of common Understanding." Pope's romantic ideas certainly influence his imagination:

> Compassionate a Poet, and (which is more) a Young Poet, who has lost all manner of Romantick Ideas; except a few that hover about the Bosphorus & Hellespont, not so much for the fine Sound of their names, as to raise up Images of Leander, who was drown'd in crossing the Sea to kiss the hand of Fair Hero.[37]

and continued in a somewhat later letter:

> The poetical manner in which you paint some of the Scenes about you, makes me despise my native country and sets me on fire to fall into the Dance about your Fountain in Belgrade village. I fancy myself, in my romantic thoughts & distant admiration for you, not unlike the man in the Alchemyst that has a passion for the Queen of the Faeries.[38]

[35] Sherburn, I, 367.

[36] Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 12.

[37] Sherburn, I, 406.

[38] Sherburn, I, 439.

Pope's infatuation with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu lasted well until her return from abroad; his feelings were, however, not reciprocated. Her "common Understanding" did not respond to Pope's romanticism. Pope sent her a detailed account of the misfortune of two lovers, who shortly before their wedding were killed by lightning, and he hoped that she would be as much moved by it as he was.[39] Lady Mary responded to this "true and tender story" without a vestige of feeling:

> I must applaud your good Nature in supposing that your pastoral lovers (vulgarly called Haymakers), would have lived in everlasting joy and harmony, if the lightning had not interrupted their scheme of happiness.... and I cannot help thinking that had they married, their lives would have passed in the common track with their fellow parishioners. His endeavouring to shield her from a storm was a natural action, and what he would have certainly done for his horse, if he had been in the same situation.[40]

Her answer reveals her sceptical attitude towards love and marriage, and must have been humiliating for Pope, who at this stage in his life would have protected Lady Mary in a similar situation the same way.

Pope's romantic state of mind expressed itself poetically in the moving love story of Eloisa to Abelard, in which the surroundings, interior and exterior, play an important part in heightening the emotional response and evoking melancholy. Pope's primary source for this poem was the translation of the letters of Abelard by John Hughes, published in 1713: "Hughes's text being a fanciful French version with a preface based upon the lovers' history by none other than Pierre Bayle."[41] Although the material of the poem was in no way original, the originality of Pope's version lies in his using this material to express his own emotional state of mind. The poem is

> essentially an original creation, it is in fact a perfect example of 'imitation' as described in the Guardian Essay. In the first place Pope seizes on the right form for

[39] Sherburn, I, 480.

[40] Sherburn, I, 523.

[41] F. M. Keener, An Essay on Pope (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 51.

> his purpose, which evokes echoes of an earlier writer but into which he infuses an imaginative passion seldom present in Ovid's statuesque creations. This form he implements in a manner and language which are perfectly Ovidian and yet entirely personal. His evocations of sympathetic landscape recall Ovid's but at the same time are in keeping with the Gothick manner of Pope's own day.[42]

The poem is unique, for "Pope had not only recreated the poetry of a past poet, in the process he has created a poem which is entirely contemporary and personal."[43] Courthope considers the poem to be "unique in English literature for passionate eloquence of language and for melody of numbers. As his imagination dwelt upon the figure of Eloisa in her devotion and despair .... he forgot himself and poured his whole soul into his dramatic creation."[44] Fraser draws a parallel between Pope and the Romantic and Victorian poets:

> Eloisa to Abelard is a fascinating poem in its psychological acuteness in exploring Eloisa's inner life, the various ways in which images and memories and longing for Abelard interrupt her attempts to concentrate on God. Eloisa seems to me more completely conceived than, let us say Madeleine in Keats's "The Eve of St. Agnes." Pope would beat most Romantic and Victorian poets on their own ground of exploration of the inner self as well as his own special ground of Ovidian facility and neatness.[45]

Pope's use of the pathetic and of the sentiments is praised by Pettit, who calls the poem "the purest form of lyric" in which the "pathetic fallacy is supreme and sentiment urges expression."[46] Eloisa to Abelard stands not only outside the Augustan literary tradition because "it lacks the Augustan meditation between opposites"[47] but also because of its different interpretation of Nature, which was already presaged in the Essay on Criticism:

[42] N. Callan, "Pope and the Classics," in Alexander Pope: Writers and their Background, ed. Peter Dixon (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1972), p. 234.

[43] Dixon, p. 235.

[44] Courthope, p. 124.

[45] Fraser, p. 46.

[46] H. Pettit, "Eloisa to Abelard: An Interpretation," in Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack, pp. 219-233.

[47] Thomas R. Edwards, This Dark Estate: A Reading of Pope (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 25.

> Natur ist nicht mehr die bloße Vernunft, nicht mehr die unbesiegbare Kraft, die der Mensch nur in sich befreien muß, um seine Leidenschaften zu beherrschen. Ihre Unfehlbarkeit ist gebrochen, und mit ihr der optimistische Glaube, mit Hilfe der Natur alle Probleme lösen zu können. Das Vertrauen auf das schließliche Triumphieren der Vernunft ist zerstört, und nur der Tod kann dem Konflikt ein Ende bereiten. Hier ist die aufklärerische Weltkonzeption brüchig geworden. .... Nicht mehr die Schärfe des Intellekts, sondern die Tiefe des Gefühls steht für den Dichter an erster Stelle. Damit sprengt Eloisa to Abelard einen der Kernsätze der klassizistischen Poetik.[48]

Pope's literary excursion outside Neo-Classical boundaries is also expressed in the message of Eloisa to Abelard:

> Hier wird von einem Dichter, der als Klassizist 'gesetzgeberische' Authorität erlangt hat, eine Aussage gemacht, die gewollt oder ungewollt der Poetik der Romantik vorgreift und daß in den beiden Werken Dichtungen vorliegen, die ihrem Gehalt nach ebenfalls nicht klassizistisch zu nennen sind.[49]

The place of Eloisa to Abelard in the Romantic tradition is also pointed out by Summers and Stevenson. Summers considers this poem to be "classical in form, but to a large extent at any rate, in its theme and matter intensely romantic, for the gothic influence is the very osmazone of quintessential romanticism."[50] Stevenson places the emphasis on Pope's use of the pathetic and the Gothic setting of the poem:

> not only has Pope developed all the story's latent possibilities of pathos, but he has given the setting its proper atmosphere in a manner that would not disgrace the poets of the romantic school, and he has introduced many passages which, as Roscoe admits, are inconsistent with the established order and regulations of society.[51]

[48] Heidi Rohloff, Klassizismus und beginnende Romantik (Verlag des Lehrstuhls für Auslandkunde und Anglistik der TU Hannover, 1971), pp. 286-287.

[49] Rohloff, p. 290.

[50] Montagu Summers, The Gothic Quest (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), p. 21.

[51] Stevenson, p. 145.

The last critic whose comments on the poem are to be considered is Warton. His commentary deserves special attention, as he was a "Pre-Romantic" and "both as a poet of the 1740s and as a critic ahead of his time."[52] His comments on the poem clearly show which aspects of the poem appealed to the Pre-Romantics. Warton showers praise on the description of the convent (ll. 139-145):

> No part of this poem, or indeed of any of Pope's productions is so truly poetical and contains such strong paintings, as the passage to which we are now arrived - the description of the convent, where Pope's religion certainly aided his fancy. It is impossible to read it without being struck with a pensive pleasure and a sacred awe, at the solemnity of the scene, so picturesque are the epithets. [53]

Pope's use of melancholy calls forth another instance of praise:

> The effect and influence of Melancholy, who is beautifully personified, on every subject that occurs, and on every part of the convent, cannot be too much applauded, or too often read, as it is founded on nature and experience. The image of the Goddess Melancholy sitting over the convent, and as it were strongly expanding her dreadful wings over the circuit, is truly sublime and strongly conceived.

The lines describing Melancholy become very personal if we place them in relation to Pope's feelings for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, to whom he had written in August 1716: "I never since pass by the House, but with some sort of Melancholy that we feel upon seeing the Tomb of a Friend, which only serves to put us in mind of what we have lost."[55] Pope describes his own feelings in the poem and voices them through Eloisa. We find here a very close indentification of the poet with the heroine, both of them suffering from an insatiable longing of an extremely passionate nature. Eloisa to Abelard is the dramatic creation of an intensely Romantic spirit. Its Romanticism reveals itself in the exploration of Eloisa's inner

[52] Reeves, p. 2.
[53] Warton, p. 328.
[54] Warton, pp. 329-330.
[55] Sherburn, I, 354.

self and in its depth of sentiment, heightened by Pope's personal identification with the heroine. The poem can be said to be gloomy and extraordinarily sad, its sadness intensified through the Gothic description of Eloisa's environment and through Pope's use of the pathetic, an aspect highly praised by Warton, who wrote on line 330 ("It will be then no crime to gaze on me"): "line I could never read without great emotion; it is at once so pathetic, and so artfully points back to the whole train and nature of their misfortunes."[56] In fact, Warton considers Eloisa to Abelard and the Elegy to be "the only instance of the Pathetic Pope has given us."[57] Although Pope wrote no more poems in this intensely Romantic vein, it may be ascertained that "die beiden Dichtungen Popes ursprünglicher dichterischer Veranlagung näherstehen."[58]

The poem Eloisa to Abelard can be divided into three parts, the past, the present and the future. These three parts correspond to the three stages of Eloisa's life: the first part of the poem, the past, describes Eloisa's romance with Abelard before his castration and their separation. The second part, the present, describes her longing for Abelard and her predicament in being forced to choose between her spiritual lover, Christ, and her physical lover, Abelard. The final part of the poem describes the time of Eloisa's death and the release from her physical passion.

The opening lines of the poem confront the reader with Eloisa's predicament:

> In these deep solitudes and awful cells,
> Where heav'nly-pensive contemplation dwells,
> And ever-musing melancholy reigns;
> What means this tumult in a Vestal's veins. (ll. 1-4)

Eloisa is obviously imprisoned in deep solitude and is in a frightening cell, which carries the deeper meaning, clarified later in the poem, that her physical love for Abelard is imprisoned as well. She is not allowed to communicate with him and her love for him dwells in her body, which cannot come to peace; it has changed itself into a cell with frightening longings. Pope presents in these

[56] Warton, p. 340.
[57] Warton, p. 344.
[58] Rohloff, p. 290.

opening lines one theme of the poem: physical love "this tumult in a Vestal's veins" versus spiritual love "heav'nly-pensive contemplation." The forcefulness of her physical passion is reinforced by the word "tumult" and implied by "Vestal." The Vestal maidens were supposed to be the guardians of the fire kept burning in honour of the gods. Again Pope presents us with Eloisa's dilemma, "fire" meaning physical passion, which in Eloisa's as well as in the Vestal's case should be transformed into spiritual love. The fire image, representing the force of sexual passion, is frequently repeated in the poem:

> There stern Religion quench'd th' unwilling flame. (l. 39)
> Thou know'st how guiltless first I met they flame, (l. 59)
> The jealous God, when we profane his fires, (l. 81)
> Love finds an altar for forbidden fires. (l. 182)
> A torch of Venus burns not for the dead. (l. 258)
> Ah hopeless, lasting flames. (l. 261)
> In seas of flames my plunging soul is drowned. (l. 275)
> Where flames refin'd in breast seraphic flow. (l. 320)

Pope's theme of forbidden love, tainted with sin, and of a highly sexual nature, is a recurrent theme with some of the later Romantic poets as well as a frequent subject of the late eighteenth century Gothic novels.

In the lines following the introduction the reason for the "tumult in her veins" is given, Eloisa's love for Abelard. This love is so powerful, even after their forced separation, that his name is hidden in her heart, "Where mix'd with God's, his lov'd Idea lies." The opposing forces of Abelard and God also stand foremotion and Reason: "In vain lost Eloisa weeps and prays,/ Her heart still dictates, and her hand obeys." (ll. 15, 16). For Abelard Eloisa weeps and her tears are dictated by the heart. To God Eloisa prays and "her hand obeys," implying a rational process. The folding of the hands in prayer is performed consciously and rationally, the weeping is the emotional expression of her agony.

The lines 17 to 21 reinforce Eloisa's emotional state through the Gothic description of her surroundings:

> Relentless walls! whose darksome round contains
> Repentant sighs, and voluntary pains:
> Ye rugged rocks! which holy knees have worn;
> Ye grots and caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn!

Pain is inflicted upon the inhabitants of the convent by those "rugged rocks" and "horrid thorn," so that they repent past sins or achieve religious ecstasy, sighs being the response to both. Those "rugged rocks" and "grots and caverns" are also sources of the sublime:

> Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible or is conversant about terrible aspects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime.[59]

Forty years before Burke, who in A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful expanded on the relationship between pain and the sublime, a theme further developed by the writers of the Gothic novel, Pope showed himself quite aware of the relationship existing between the two.

In the lines 21 to 28 the central concept is "shrines," which implies a reference to the "cells" of line 1:

> Shrines! where their vigils pale-ey'd virgins keep,
> And pitying saints, whose statues learn to weep!
> Tho' cold like you, unmov'd and silent grown,
> I have not yet forgot myself to stone.
> All is not Heav'ns while Abelard has part,
> Still rebel nature holds out half my heart;
> Nor pray'rs nor fasts its stubborn pulse restrain,
> Nor tears, for ages, taught to flow in vain.

The primary meaning of "shrines" is that of the convent, where those "pale-ey'd virgins" are kept closely guarded. Its second meaning is the place where the saints are displayed. These saints, pitying the suffering nuns, are taught to weep when witnessing their agony, which moves even stones to tears. Eloisa then compares these saints with the nuns, both are cold "unmov'd and silent grown," and differentiates herself from them, "I have not yet forgot myself to stone." This line also carries several meanings. Eloisa does not pay homage to the saints, her "shrine," meaning her heart, has not yet turned to stone and she has not adapted to life in the convent. She is not able to accept this dreary existence because "rebel nature holds out half my heart," nature meaning her emotions which rebel against Reason.

[59] Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful (London: R. & J. Doebley, 1759), p. 58.

This meaning is enforced in the succeeding lines by the mention of the "stubborn pulse" and her "tears." Pope then presents us with the reason for her present agony; Soon as thy letters trembling I unclose,/ That well-known name awakens all my woes." Her memories of Abelard still represent a powerful force, reading his very name she "still breath'd in sighs" and it makes her "tremble too where'er my own I find." The reading of Abelard's letter fills her with renewed misery, "Line after line my gushing eyes o'erflow,/ Led thro' a sad variety of woe:" (ll. 35, 36). Her love for Abelard, which caused her to bloom, is "lost in a convent's solitary gloom!" In these surroundings "stern religion quench'd th' unwilling flame." The adjective "unwilling" can be interpreted in two ways: it tells the reader either that her passion (flame) does not want to be extinguished or that this passion was aroused without her wanting it. After all, Abelard seduced her, her innocence is clearly stated in line 59: "Thou know'st how guiltless first I met thy flame." A further theme developed and expanded by the later writers of Gothic novels, most specifically by Lewis in The Monk: the vicious priest seducing and thereby ruining the innocent woman.

In the following lines (40 to 58) Pope deals with the process of writing letters. At the beginning of this part stands Abelard's letter to Eloisa which "awakens all my foes;" at the end Eloisa relieves her agony through writing: "The virgin's wish without her fears impart,/ Excuse her blush, and pour all the heart." (ll.55,56) In between these lines Eloisa's identification of Abelard with Christ is reinforced: "Tears still are mine, and those I need not spare,/ Love but demands what else were shed in pra'er." The tears shed in prayer by the nuns in remembrance of Christ's passion are shed by Eloisa for Abelard. Instead of reliving the passion of Christ, she concentrates on Abelard's sufferings: "Then share thy pain, allow that sad relief;/Ah, more than share it! give me all thy grief."

After the introductory section, acquainting the reader with the nature and sufferings of Eloisa and enhancing them through the use of Gothic attributes, the story of how Eloisa became acquainted with Abelard is told in a beautiful, melodious tone, matching the sweet sentiments. Friendship stood at the beginning of their passionate affair: "When Love approach'd me under Friendship's name," and an-

gelic, divine attributes are bestowed on Abelard:

> Those smiling eyes, attemp'ring ev'ry ray,
> Shone sweetly lambent with celestial day:
> Guiltless I gaz'd; heav'n listen'd while you sung;
> And truths divine came mended from that tongue. (11.63-66

The innocence of Abelard's approach is most beautifully painted in the adjective "lambent," meaning a flame playing on a surface without burning it. Their passion is not the satisfaction of short-lived lust, but the natural outcome of their infatuation. Abelard's sweet tongue too soon taught her "'twas no sin to love," and he loses thereby his divine attributes, in fact Eloisa comes to prefer the man. After she has been led by him "through the paths of pleasing sense" she no longer wishes for "an Angel whom I lov'd a Man." The change in her relationship with Abelard is followed by a hymn in praise of free love:

> How oft, when press'd to marriage, have I said,
> Curse on all laws but those which love has made?
> Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
> Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.
> Let wealth, let honour, wait the wedded dame,
> August her deed, and sacred by her fame;
> Before pure passion all those views remove,
> Fame, wealth, and honour! what are you to Love. (11.73-80)

Was Pope thinking of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu when he composed these lines, asking her to abandon her position in society and accept his love? But a warning, a feeling of impending doom follows the celebration of free love:

> The jealous God, when we profane his fires,
> Those restless passions in revenge inspires,
> And bids them make mistaken mortals groan,
> Who seek in love for aught but love alone. (11. 81-84)

Eloisa does not pay heed to this warning, to her "love is liberty, and nature, law." Pope presents the reader with a different interpretation of Nature in this line, which no longer carries the Augustan meaning of restraint, control of the passions and the emotions. Here, Nature is love, and like love, free. This liberalisation of Nature paved the way for the free, unrestrained expression of the emotions and sensibility. Concepts already implied in the Essay on Criticism are clearly stated in this poem. The ordered Nature of the Augustans is replaced by the disordered Na-

ture of Romanticism, whose main aspect is liberty, through which beauty is achieved in architecture and gardening, "Jones and Le Notre have it not to give"[60] and in poetry, "Some beauties yet no Precepts can declare."[61] The realisation of this freedom results in utter bliss:

> All then is full, possessing, and possess'd
> No craving void left aking in the breast:
> Ev'n thought meets thought, ere from the lips it part,
> And each warm wish springs mutual from the heart.
> This sure is bliss (if bliss on earth there be)
> And once the lot of Abelard and me. (11. 93-98)

This bliss, however, was doomed to be shortlived. Society cannot accept or tolerate such behaviour, which becomes uncontrollable in its divergence from society's moral code and endangers its preconceived system of values. Pope's description of Abelard's castration is the revenge of society on those who dare step outside society's moral boundaries:

> Alas how chang'd! what sudden horrors rise!
> A naked Lover bound and bleeding lies!
> Where, where was Eloisa? her voice, her hand,
> Her ponyard, had oppos'd the dire command.
> Barbarian, stay! that bloody stroke restrain;
> The crime was common, common be the pain. (11. 99-104)

The castration scene or Abelard's banishment from a man's world, is followed by Eloisa's entry into a convent. In fact, both are expelled from the world of the living into a passage of suffering, from which only death can release them. Generally, the entry of a nun into a convent is a celebration, the spiritual wedding to Christ. Eloisa regards herself as a a victim: "When victims at yon altar's foot we lay." Victims of the "jealous God" and of society. As a spiritual bride she is unmoved: "as with cold lips I kiss'd the sacred veil." The moment she makes her vows her heart is full of Abelard: "Not on the Cross my eyes were fix'd, but you." To relieve her agony, she calls on Abelard, not on Christ:

[60] Alexander Pope, Epistle IV, to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, l. 46.

[61] Alexander Pope, An Essay on Criticism, l. 141.

> Come! with thy looks, thy words, relieve my woe;
> Those still at least are left thee to bestow.
> Still on that breast enamour'd let me lie,
> Still drink delicious poison from they eye,
> Pant on thy lip, and to thy heart be press'd;
> Give all thou canst - and let me dream the rest.
> (ll. 119-125)

Eloisa identifies herself with Mary Magdalene, who rested on Christ's breast, once more implying the identification of Abelard with Christ. Eloisa's longing for Abelard is still sexually charged, indicated by "pant on thy lip," although she realises Abelard's physical inability to satisfy her passion. She then calls on Abelard to lead her thoughts onto a different road:

> Ah no! instruct me other joys to prize,
> With other beauties charm my partial eyes,
> Full in my view set all the bright abode,
> And make my soul quit Abelard for God. (ll. 125-128)

In fact she addresses herself to him as a member of his flock, asking him to fulfil his pastoral duties. The whole problem of Eloisa's situation is laid out in the following lines:

> From the false world in early youth they fled,
> By thee to mountains, wilds, and deserts led.
> You rais'd these hallow'd walls; the desert smil'd,
> And Paradise was open'd in the Wild. (ll. 131-134)

It was Abelard who opened the door to freedom for her, as a result of which she is now incarcerated in these lonely walls. He is at once the source of her earlier liberation and of her present captivity, which now becomes the theme. (ll.141-175). These lines are extremely powerful in their description of the natural surroundings of the convent, its gloominess is achieved through the use of Gothic attributes. The convent has

> These moss-grown domes with spiry turrets crown'd,
> Where awful arches make a noon-day night,
> And the dim windows shed a solemn light. (ll. 142-144)

and is surrounded by

> The darksome pines that o'er yon rocks reclin'd
> Wave high, and murmur to the hollow wind,
> The wand'ring streams that shine between the hills,
> The grots that echo to the tinkling rills,
> The dying gales that pant upon the trees,
> The lakes that quiver to the curling breeze. (ll.155-160)

All of this evokes melancholy:

> But o'er the twilight groves and dusky caves,
> Long-sounding isles, and intermingling graves,
> Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws
> A death-like silence, and a dread repose. (11.163-166)

The effect of melancholy on the natural surroundings is that

> Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,
> Shades ev'ry flower, and darkens ev'ry green,
> Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,
> And breathes a browner horror on the woods. (11.167-170)

The convent is depicted as being awe-inspiring, a lonely bastion where daylight is kept outside, and whose inhabitants are buried alive. The descriptions convey a sense of decay which heightens the impact of melancholy. In these surroundings Eloisa cannot concentrate on her religious duties and contrasts her love for Abelard, painted in vivid, bright colours, with the so-called love of the nuns for Christ. When a ray of sunlight enters the convent, it becomes clear that "no face divine contentment wears,/ 'Tis all black sadness, or continual tears." (11. 147,148). The fact that these natural surroundings do not assist Eloisa in her meditation, "No more these scenes my meditation aid," is due to their unrestrained character, they represent a powerful force which imposes fright on the observer. Like the passions, they tend to become uncontrollable. Furthermore, the description of Nature is full of sexual imagery: "The dying gales that pant upon the trees,/The lakes that quiver to the curling breeze." (1. 159,160). A heavy storm, although decreasing in power still breathes heavily upon the trees. The trees may be interpreted as representing the male organ. The lake, representing the female element, quivers, i.e. trembles in the wind that whirls, calling forth waves. Passion moves the male, who in turn sets the female quivering. This storm and water imagery is repeated in line 253, indicating the extinction of Eloisa's passionate feelings: "No pulse that riots, and no blood that glows,/ Still as the sea, ere winds were taught to blow."

In the lines 177 to 182 the reader is once more confronted with the duality of Christ and Abelard and Eloisa's almost futile struggle to forget past pleasures. To the casual observer Eloisa is "believ'd the spouse of God" but "within the slave of love and man." Even in the convent, "...where frozen chastity retires,/

Love finds an altar for forbidden fires." The adjective "frozen" implies that Eloisa's chastity was not of her own choice but was forced upon her by an external force. The adjective also indicates the coldness of the convent and of religion. Although Eloisa realises that her passion is against the laws of society and religion, she is not able to separate her love for Abelard from the sexual pleasure he bestowed upon her:

> I ought to grieve, but cannot what I ought;
> I mourn the lover, not lament the fault;
> I view my crime, but kindle at the view,
> Repent old pleasures, and solicit new; (ll. 183-186)

followed by her personal dilemma: "How shall I lose the sin, yet keep the sense,/ And love th' offender, yet detest th' offence." Towards the end of this part Eloisa becomes aware of the solution to her present dilemma: "Oh come! to teach me nature to subdue,/ Renounce my love, my life, myself - and you." (ll. 203,204). Pope interprets Nature in line 203 in the same way as in line 92: "When love is liberty, and nature, law." Only by subduing Nature, i.e. by achieving control over the emotions and passions, will Eloisa find her equilibrium and conform again to the Augustan mode of behaviour. Having regained the upper hand over her emotions, Eloisa can dedicate herself to her rôle as Vestal maiden, filled with tranquillity and at peace with herself:

> How happy is the blameless Vestal's lot?
> The world forgetting, by the world forgot:
> Eternal sun-shine of the spotless mind!
> Each pray'r accepted, and each wish resign'd;
> Labour and rest, that equal period keep;
> 'Obedient slumbers that can wake and weep;'
> Desires compos'd, affections ever ev'n;
> Tears that delight, and sighs that waft to heav'n.
> (ll.207-214)

The lines are harmonious and balanced, but empty of emotion, even death is without its former harshness: "To sound of heav'nly harps she dies away,/ And melts in visions of eternal day." However, for Eloisa this state of unemotional bliss is a visionary one, her passionate nature is not suited to and not ready for this tranquillity. The lines 223 to 256 describe her present agonising frame of mind, in which "obedient slumbers" find no place. These lines are harsh, unmelodious, like cries uttered in sheer despair:

> Far other dreams my erring soul employ,
> Far other raptures, of unholy joy:
> When at the close of each sad, sorrowing day,
> Fancy restores what vengeance snatch'd away,
> Then conscience sleeps, and leaving nature free,
> All my loose soul unbounded springs to thee.

Nature is set free once more, unconfined by rational arguments, at night. In her dreams she relives her past pleasures, which during the day fill her with guilt:

> O curst, dear horrors of all-conscious night!
> How glowing guilt exalts the keen delight!
> Provoking Daemons all restraint remove,
> And stir within me ev'ry source of love. (ll. 229-232)

Although the enjoyment of her past passions is accompanied by guilt, Eloisa tries to repeat the experience. When the phantom of Abelard leaves her, she tries to call him back: "Ye soft illusions, dear deceits, arise!" But her second dream turns into a nightmare, full of images of decay:

> Alas, no more! methinks we wand'ring go
> Thro' dreary wastes, and weep each other's woe,
> Where round some mould'ring tower ivy creeps,
> And low-brow'd rocks hang nodding o'er the deeps.
> (ll.241-244)

Abelard's appearance is accompanied by destruction: "Sudden you mount! you beckon from the skies;/ Clouds interpose, waves roar, and winds arise." To give Nature full rein must lead to destruction, because it is impossible to control. Eloisa envies Abelard for his inability to perform the physical act of love, for his personal check on Nature:

> For thee the Fates, severely kind, ordain
> A cool suspense from pleasure and from pain;
> Thy life a long, dead calm of fix'd repose;
> No pulse that riots, and no blood that glows. (ll.249-252)

Abelard's castration offers him a release from passion, whereas Eloisa's mental castration only functions at the conscious level. Eloisa, realising the unattainability of Abelard's physical love, blames him for not coming to her assistance, although she no longer poses a threat to him:

> Come Abelard! for what hast thou to dread?
> The torch of Venus burns not for the dead.
> Nature stand check'd; Religion disapproves,
> Ev'n thou art cold - yet Eloisa loves. (ll. 257-260)

Eloisa's suffering increases, her sexual needs cannot be satisfied: "Ah hopeless, lasting flames, like those that burn/ To light the dead, and warm th' unfruitful urn." (ll. 261, 262). Her misery reaches its heights: "In seas of flame my plunging soul is drown'd,/ While Altars blaze, and Angels tremble round." (ll. 275,276). The forcefulness of the couplet is increased by the imagery of fire, which again shows the full power of her passionate nature and the fact that it leads to destruction. Eloisa makes one last attempt to end her suffering, she challenges Abelard and the heavens:

> Come, if thou dar'st, all charming as thou art!
> Oppose thyself to heav'n; dispute my heart;
> Come, with one glance of those deluding eyes
> Blot out each bright Idea of the skies. (ll. 281-284)

She even dares to tell Abelard to call evil spirits to his assistance: "Snatch me, just mounting, from the blest abode,/Assist the fiends, and tear me from my God." The beauty of their love in its earlier stages, when "love was free as air" has turned into a dark obsession, mainly due to the restrictions society placed on their love. Sheer frustration has increased the destructive tendency. Eloisa realises at long last the futility of her efforts and this makes her long for death, a release from her sufferings. A peaceful couplet introduces the last part of the poem: "Enter each mild, each amicable guest;/ Receive, and wrap me in eternal rest." ((ll. 301, 302). A voice calling from the grave, a kindred spirit, reveals to Eloisa the peace awaiting her:

> 'Come, sister, come! (it said, or seem'd to say)
> Thy place is here, sad sister, come away!
> Once like thyself, I trembled, wept, and pray'd,
> Love's victim then, tho' now a sainted maid:
> But all is calm in this eternal sleep;
> Here grief forgets to groan, and love to weep,
> Ev'n superstition loses ev'ry fear:
> For God, not man, absolves our frailties here.'
> (ll. 309-316)

Abelard is called upon to assist her in dying and to perform the death rites. His opposition to Christ as her lover has lost its relevance, he is asked to "present the Cross before my lifted eye."

Her love for Abelard transcends the physical and becomes spiritual love: "O Death, all-eloquent! you only prove/ What dust we dote on, when 'tis man we love." (ll. 335, 336). In the grave, Eloisa and Abelard are reunited.

Pope then makes a personal appearance in the poem:

> And sure if fate some future bard shall join
> In sad similitude of griefs to mine,
> Condemn'd whole years in absence to deplore,
> And image charms he must behold nor more;
> Such if there be, who loves so long, so well;
> Let him our sad, our tender story tell;
> The well-sung woes will sooth my pensive ghost;
> He best can paint 'em, who shall feel 'em most.
> (ll. 344-345)

Pope was bound to be able to write this poem, because he experienced Eloisa's sufferings and grief himself. The poem expresses the love he held for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the grief he suffered through her absence: "And image charms he must behold no more." The love story of Eloisa and Abelard was to some extent Pope's own story, both characters are representations of Pope. Eloisa represents the emotional side of his nature and the power of his ability to love; Abelard symbolises his own physical inability to consummate this passion, and the sanctions put on his relationship with Lady Mary by society. His physical appearance was one great hindrance to the attainment of this goal. His impotent rage is vividly expressed in Eloisa's sexual frustration. Eloisa to Abelard is an unusual and unique poem in many respects. First of all, Pope's interpretation of Nature deserves careful attention because of its revolutionary character, which paved the way for the development of the Romantic movement. Pope liberates this concept from its narrow Augustan boundaries and shows the reader the power and the force of the emotions, unchecked by Reason.

Pope's advocacy of liberty finds its literary expression in his treatment of love, which, just like Nature, should not be hindered by man-made obstacles but should be allowed to run its own free course. Pope, however, shows his awareness of these obstacles, poetically expressed in the castration of Abelard and banishment of Eloisa. The only escape from this narrow-mindedness is death, in Eloisa to Abelard by natural causes, in the Elegy by suicide, where Pope expands the principle of liberty by con-

doning the freedom to choose one's own time of death.

Pope, in fact, achieves a literary tour de force outside and far ahead of his own time. The drama of this love story, which transcends itself through Pope's identification with it, is set in an environment which enhances the impact of the story by means of its Gothic "machinery." This by itself is reason enough to call the poem unusual. The use of Gothic embellishments to heighten the emotional impact of the story on the reader was unique at this time in literary history. Pope handled this Gothic paraphernalia with great craftsmanship, not allowing his poem to become melodramatic.

Eloisa to Abelard shows a poetic side to Pope which is once more revealed to us in the Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady.

3. Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady

The great mystery of the Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady is the identity of the "Unfortunate Lady." Various solutions have been offered. Amongst others, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu has been considered to be the lady in question, as "those love-darting eyes" of line 34 was Pope's "favourite compliment to her."[62] Two other ladies with whom Pope was personally involved also bear a close resemblance to the Unfortunate Lady. In 1711 Pope and Caryll jointly became involved in the affairs of Mrs. Weston and Mrs. Cope. Mrs. Weston had been treated badly by both her guardian and her husband, whom she eventually left. Both Pope and Caryll were unsuccessful in reconciling the couple, and the affair turned into a minor scandal:

> By December 1712, Pope's championship of the runaway wife had exposed him to the 'misconstruction of some of my neighbours', who were 'whispering away' his reputation. Local gossips impugned his secret motives; they allowed themselves 'little lecheries of the tongue' that were soon repeated for the poet's benefit.[63]

[62] Halsband, p. 75.

[63] Quennell, p. 47.

Pope's interference on behalf of Mrs. Weston reveals his "imaginative grasp of human suffering,"[64] or as Dame Edith Sitwell puts it:

> Mrs. Weston found an immediate adherent in Pope, whose craving for adventure could never be satisfied and he, with that longing for chivalrous romance to which he owed so many of the misunderstandings in his life, espoused the unhappy lady's cause with fire and fury, and interfered in her destiny.[65]

Mrs. Cope, Caryll's first cousin, had been deserted by her husband and lived a cheerless life.[66] Pope came to this lady's rescue and when "she settled in France, he made this unhappy and unfriended creature an allowance of £20 a year."[67] Pope also wrote Caryll, requesting him to support Mrs. Cope as well:

> Meeting with the gentleman who has been to wait on you in relation to Mrs. Cope's affairs, I find that her husband is very suddenly to go back to his command, and that her relief will be almost impracticable if not attempted before. The Board of Officers will not meddle in a family concern, and people of skill in these matters assure me that the only method is to procure a writ from the chancery Ne exeat regno, which may be had for a trifle, and will so far distress him as to oblige him to find bail, and bring him to some composition, not to be hindered from going abroad. ....I cannot but lay before you this case which is of the last importance to the poor lady, and indeed must affect any charitable man .... and I doubt not the same humanity will prompt you to assist so melancholy a circumstance.[68]

The tragic life of both ladies presented Pope with material which he was able to put to use in the Elegy. His sensitive powers made the Elegy "the most mysterious and in some ways the most moving poem Pope ever wrote,hinting at a wider and deeper range of feeling than Pope ever exhibited with the same conciseness."[69]

[64] Quennell, p 47.

[65] Edith Sitwell, Alexander Pope (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1948), p. 70.

[66] Quennell, p. 46; George Sherburn, The Early Career of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 202.

[67] Sitwell, p. 71.

[68] Sherburn, I, 522.

[69] Fraser, p. 43.

> tells us more about the deep and painful strappings of feeling in Pope than anything else he has written. In its vindictive tenderness it displays the preference of the true poet for what Lionell Trilling calls the authentic (the feelings that drive a young woman deprived of her lover to rebellious suicide) to what he calls the sincere (the patient and resigned acceptance of disappointment which Pope, in a moralising mood, would himself have counselled). It is authenticity in Trilling's sense rather than sincerity that gives the mature poet his lawless power.[70]

The Elegy as well as Eloisa to Abelard is not only in subject matter Romantic, suicide occasioned by rejected love, but also its "Sentiment und elegisch-melancholisher Ton nehmen viel von der poetischen Stimmung und dem verinnerlichten Weiterleben der beginnenden Romantik vorweg."[71]

The mood of the poem is set in the very first line: "What beck'ning ghost, along the moonlight shade" and fills the reader with dark suspense. This ghost invites the poet's steps, and the reader's, to follow him and "points to yonder glade." The ghost appears to be the Unfortunate Lady, "'Tis she!" The fact that her ghost is standing at the glade, this being an opening between forest trees where daylight can enter, may well imply Pope's interpretation of death, already laid down in Eloisa to Abelard as the final release from all suffering. The ghost is not waiting in the woods, meaning darkness and misery, but pointing towards the glade. The theme of death is expanded, the act of suicide is brought to the reader's attention: " 'Tis she! - but why that bleeding bosom gored,/ Why dimly gleams the visionary sword?" (ll. 3,4)

Death by one's own hand is in fact given a heroic character: "Is there no bright reversion in the sky,/ For those who greatly think, or bravely die?" The act of suicide in the Unfortunate Lady's case is regarded as an act of fate:

> From these perhaps (ere nature bade her die)
> Fate snatch'd her early to a pitying sky.
> As into air the purer spirits flow,
> And sep'rate from their kindred dregs below;

[70] Fraser, p. 45.

[71] Rohloff, p. 286.

So flew the soul to its congenial place,
Nor left one virtue to redeem her Race. (11. 23-28)

The theme of suicide is dealt with by Pope in a way which does not conform to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. Pope does not regard the act as a deadly sin, but as a conscious escape from further sufferings, rewarded by the reunion of the soul with its divine source. The Unfortunate Lady's anguish was occasioned by the fact that she loved too well (1. 6). This intense capacity for love transcends the satisfaction of sexual passion and finds its source in an ambition which is given a divine character:

Why bade ye else, ye Pow'rs! her soul aspire
Above the vulgar flights of low desire?
Ambition first sprung from your blest abodes;
The glorious fault of Angels and of Gods:
Thence to their images on earth it flows,
And in breasts of Kings and Heroes glows. (11. 11-16)

In most cases the inner fire is kept "in the body's cage," where it burns for "a length of years/ Useless, unseen, as lamps in sepulchres;" (11.19, 20). The Unfortunate Lady was one of the few exceptions, whose compassion "warm'd the world before" (1. 33). Pope uses imagery in this first part of the poem which is similar to that of Eloisa to Abelard, especially the fire image, which, however, has here enlarged its meaning and progressed from love for one particular person of a passionate, sexual nature to love, compassion in general. This compassionate love met with no response:

But thou, false guardian of a charge too good,
Thou, mean deserter of thy brother's blood!
See on these ruby lips the trembling breath,
These cheeks, now fading at the blast of death;
Cold is that breast which warm'd the world before,
And these love-darting eyes must roll no more. (11.29-34)

This passage reveals the maltreatment of the Unfortunate Lady by her guardian, but seen in a broader context it also means the disregard of society for those "whose breast... glow for others' good, or melt at others' woe." This broader meaning, encompassing the entire human race, is reinforced in the following part, which describes the punishment for those who desert their charges. The beautiful lines on the Unfortunate Lady's death (11. 23-29) are now replaced by dark, revengeful ones, suited to the interpretation of death as punishment:

> Thus, if eternal justice rules the ball,
> Thus shall your wives, and thus your children fall:
> On all the line a sudden vengeance waits,
> And frequent hearses shall besiege your gates. (11.35-38)

This punishment befalls all "whose souls the Furies steel'd,/ And curs'd with hearts unknowing how to yield." (11. 41, 42). Love, extended to mean all love that is unchecked by Reason and bursts all human bounds, is rewarded by society with banishment. The Unfortunate Lady shares Eloisa's destiny. She dies abroad, deserted by all:

> No friend's complaint, no kind domestic tear
> Pleas'd thy pale host, or grac'd thy mournful bier;
> By foreign hands thy dying eyes were clos'd,
> By foreign hands thy decent limbs compos'd.
> By strangers honour'd, and by strangers mourn'd! (11.49-54)

On this lonely death, Warton wrote:

> The incident of her dying in a country remote from her relations and acquaintance, is touched with great tenderness, and introduced with propriety, to aggravate and heighten her lamentable fate. The force of the significant epithet 'foreign' need not be painted out to any reader of sensibility.[72]

The public display of mourning by so-called friends is satirised by Pope in the lines 55 to 58, making a lonely death almost preferable, as it lacks any display of hypocrisy. The Unfortunate Lady's grave is of a beautiful simplicity, although "no sacred earth allow thee room"reminds us of the Church's teachings on suicide. Her grave is a natural one, her breast will be covered by "green turf" and dressed "with rising flow'rs." Tears are shed by the dew:

> There shall the morn her earliest tears bestow,
> There the first roses of the year shall blow;
> While Angels with their silver wings o'ershade
> The ground now sacred by their reliques made. (11.64-68)

Her death is described as "a beautiful change into the rhythms of natural process, which can be celebrated in pastoral terms."[73] The lines exude peace and the fulfilment of duty. The last lines deal-

[72] Warton, p. 259.

[73] Edwards, pp. 22-23.

ing with death make clear the same destiny for all of us: "A heap of dust alone remains of thee;/ 'Tis all thou art, and all the proud shall be." Pope's final interpretation of death or life is a pessimistic one: "A heap of dust ... 'Tis all thou art."

In the last part of the poem, ll. 75 to 82, Pope, as in Eloisa to Abelard appears personally in the poem:

> Poets themselves must fall, like those they sung;
> Deaf the prais'd ear, and mute the tuneful tongue.
> Ev'n he, whose soul now melts in mournful lays,
> Shall shortly want the gen'rous tear he pays;
> Then from his closing eyes thy form shall part,
> And the last pang shall tear thee from his heart,
> Life's ideal business at one gasp be o'er,
> The muse forgot, and thou belov'd no more.

Pope offers the reader in these lines an insight into his emotions. These lines reveal his love for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. At the same time Pope retracts by using the third person singular. Pope stands on the threshold between Neo-Classicism and Romanticism. He gives us his personal feelings and at the same time generalises them.

The Elegy differs from Eloisa to Abelard in tone and imagery. The Gothic imagery is more plentiful in Eloisa to Abelard, whereas in the Elegy it is restricted to the first four lines. The tone of the Elegy is more personal and heavier, although in both poems Pope uses fictional or at least unidentifiable characters to convey his own emotions. Pope is personally more involved in the Elegy; he makes it quite clear that he is one of the few lamenting the fate of the Unfortunate Lady, based on the understanding of her "fire" which led to her suicide. Both poems achieved the aim of poetry, as stated by Pope in the Essay on Criticism: "Which gains the heart, and all its end at once attains." Pope created two intensely emotional poems which in subject matter, imagery, tone of voice, pathos and inner self secure Pope's position as a forerunner of Romanticism.

4. Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear'

At the end of 1724 Pope wrote: "Shakespeare is finished. I have just written the Preface, and in less than three weeks it will be public."[74] The five years preceding the publication of the Preface were one of the most tranquil periods in Pope's life.[75] Pope had commenced on the rebuilding of his house at Twickenham and on the layout of the famous garden behind the house:

> our trees, like new acquaintances brought happily together, are stretching their arms to meet each other, and growing nearer and nearer every hour; the birds are paying their thanksgiving songs for the new habitations I have made them; my building rises high enough to attract the eye and curiosity of the passenger from the river, where, upon beholding a mixture of beauty and ruin, he inquires what house is falling, or what church is rising.[76]

During this happy period of his life Pope was not only busy building and planting for himself, he also assisted his friends like Bathurst and Digby in their building and planting adventures. Pope's happiness is best illustrated in his letter to Robert Digby:

> ... and that Mrs. Digby talks in a letter to Lady Scudamore, of seeing my Lord Bathurst's Wood in her way. How much I wish to be her Guide thro' that enchanted Forest, is not to be exprest: I look upon myself as the Magician appropriated to the place, without whom no mortal can penetrate into the Recesses of those sacred Shades.[77]

Pope's sensitivity to the mysterious beauties of Nature, where a magician is required to open the way, was one aspect of his Romantic state of mind at this time. The appreciation of mystery, of the unfamiliar, reveals itself in his intention to write a fairy tale, and in his enjoyment of the Arabian Tales. The project of his writing a fairy tale was still being discussed in 1723: "I

[74] Sherburn, II, 270.
[75] Sherburn, The Early Career of Alexander Pope, p. 201.
[76] Elwin-Courthope, IX, (Correspondence IV), 263.
[77] Sherburn, II, 115-116.

have long had an inclination to tell a Fairy tale; the more wild & exotic the better, therefore a Vision, which is confined to no rules of probability, will take in all the Variety & Luxuriancy of Description you will."[78]

If Mrs. Judith Cowper, the recipient of this letter appreciated this kind of tale, is unknown. It is known, however, that Atterbury, who "was a genuine Augustan"[79] did not esteem them. Pope had sent Atterbury a copy of the Arabian Tales, for which Atterbury thanked him and on which he then proceeded to give his opinion:

> And now Sir for your Arabian Tales. Ill as I have been almost ever since they came to my hand, I have read as much of them, as ever I shall read while I live. Indeed, they do not please my Taste: they are writ with so Romantick an Air, and allowing for the Difference of Eastern Manners, are yet, upon any Supposition that can be made of so wild and absurd a Contrivance at least to my Northern understanding, that I have not only no pleasure, but no patience in perusing them. They are to me like the Odd paintings on Indian Screens; which at first glance, may Surprize and please a little, but when you fix your Eye intently upon them, they appear so extravagant, disproportion'd, and Monstruous, that they give the Judicious Seer pain and make him seek for relief from some other Object.[80]

Atterbury's dislike is based on their disproportion and monstrosity, his eye and mind are attuned to proportion and balance and do not allow for any extravagance. His dislike of this kind of literature extends to Shakespeare:

> I have found time to read some parts of Shakespeare, which I was least acquainted with. I protest to you in a hundred places I cannot construe him . I do not understand him. The hardest part of Chaucer is more intelligible to me than some of those scenes, not merely through the faults of the edition, but the obscurity of the writer, for obscure he is, and a little (not a little) inclined now and then to bombast, whatever apology you may have contrived on that head for him.[81]

[78] Sherburn II, 202-203.

[79] William L. Phelps, The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1893), p. 16.

[80] Sherburn, II, 56.

[81] Sherburn, II, 78.

Pope's different taste and his apparent Romanticism, shown in his appreciation of the Arabian Tales, which "are writ with so Romantick an Air," is obvious. The criteria on which Pope's enjoyment is based differed considerably from those of his contemporaries, whose main criteria were balance and proportion governed by Reason. Pope later regretted not having executed the composition of his own Persian fable:

> After my reading the Persian Tales I had some thoughts of writing a Persian fable in which I should have given a full loose to description and imagination. It would have been a very wild thing if I had executed it, but might not have been unentertaining.[82]

Although this project was never realised, we do have Pope's remarks on Shakespeare which show an evaluation of the Elizabethan dramatist entirely different from Atterbury's. Atterbury was certainly not the odd exception in his dislike of Shakespeare. Pope "by public advertisement did request the assistance of all lovers of this author"[83] but no help was forthcoming. There must have been very few Augustan lovers of Shakespeare. In the first part of the eighteenth century

> the splendour and exuberance of the Elizabethan drama had been forgotten in the attention paid to the insipid, moralizing Augustan stage: the old dramatists were empty names. The old English style in poetry and romance were generally spoken of as 'Gothic', a term of reproach, synonymous with barbarous, lawless, and tawdry. Even Shakespeare was half Gothic, if he was a great dramatist, he was not a playwright, and he was full of excrescences.[84]

Pope's Preface to the 'Works of Shakespear' became a defence of Shakespeare and of the Gothic, drawing the attention of the Augustan public to their excellence. One of the main arguments against Pope's editing Shakespeare was his unfamiliarity with Elizabethan drama and literature. Warton was one of the first critics to voice this charge: "Pope was not sufficiently acquainted with the works of

[82] Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1966), I, No. 340.

[83] Warren, p. 120.

[84] Phelps, pp. 15-16.

Shakespeare's predecessors and contemporaries."[85] Spence exonerates Pope in the face of this charge by listing several early seventeenth century poets and playwrights, whose writing Pope was familiar with,[86] adding: "The List indicates that Pope's knowledge of the early drama was broader than hitherto considered."[87]

Pope shows his taste in Shakespeare through his editing. He informs the reader of his preferences by way of a list which he makes of the beauties, or "shining passages" as he calls them:

> These are not separated from the text like blemishes, but are designated by commas in the margin. .... To have filled a margin with these commas would have been tedious and unsightly, so 'where beauty lay not in particulars, but in the whole' Pope prefixed a star to the scene.[88]

Of the Four Great Tragedies: Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth and King Lear:"Macbeth was his favourite. It has the rare distinction of two starred scenes, the scene of Duncan's murder and the Banquet scene."[89] In regard to the tragedies and histories, we find that Pope "was better pleased with Romeo and Juliet, King Lear and Julius Caesar. Pope's Romantic nature found as much to applaud in Romeo and Juliet as those seventeenth century undergraduates."[90] Butt concludes the article by evaluating the merit of Pope's editing of Shakespeare:

> Credit must be given to him .... for his anxiety to increase Shakespeare's reputation amongst men of taste, and for his sympathy with poetry which is not so widely different from his own in style and mood, but which seems on first consideration so ill-suited to the climate of the age in which he lived.[91]

The Preface occupies a central position in the undertaking, as here Pope explains Shakespeare's beauty and his shortcomings to an Augustan audience. Later Dr. Johnson bestows praise on his endeavour and says of the Preface that Pope "expanded with great skill and elegance the character which had been given of Shake-

[85] Warton, II, 400.

[86] Spence, No. 413-422; No. 427; No. 434-436.

[87] Spence, No. 428.

[88] John Butt, Pope's Taste in Shakespeare (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 5.

[89] Butt, p. 7.

[90] Butt, p. 12.

[91] Butt, p. 21.

speare by Dryden; and he drew the public attention upon his works, which, though often mentioned, had been little read."[92]

Although Pope did take Dryden's statement into account that "a just appreciation of the surpassing greatness of Shakespeare could be combined with candid admission of his faults," he went beyond this:

> The tone of Pope's Preface is pitched higher than that of Dryden. In this the neoclassical poet displays the capacity for an almost ecstatic appreciation of great excellence very different from the sort he himself possessed. The power of judicial analysis displayed in frank discussion of the poet's faults is no greater than the power of warm acknowledgement of his merits. This singular balance with Pope, most of all the Augustans, preserved in his criticism did not interfere with the same final estimate of Shakespeare as that of the most fanatical romanticists. Like Ben Jonson, Pope exalts the English playwright not only above his fellows but above the great Greek tragedians.[93]

Pope states his major aim in writing the Preface to be:

> to give an account of the fate of his Works, and the disadvantage under which they have been transmitted to us. We shall hereby extenuate many faults which are his, and clear him from the imputation of many which are not: A Design, which tho' it can be no guide to future Criticks to do him justice in one way, will at least be sufficient to prevent their doing him an injustice in the other.[94]

Pope opens the Preface by giving some examples of Shakespeare's excellence "for which (notwithstanding his defects) he is justly and universally elevated above all other Dramatic Writers." Shakespeare's eminence is due to his being an "Instrument of Nature":

> If ever any Author deserved the name of an Original, it was Shakespear. Homer himself drew not his art so immediately from the fountains of Nature, it proceeded thro' Aegyptian strainers and channels, and came to him not without some tincture of the learning, or some cast of the models, of those before him . The poetry of Shake-

[92] Samuel Johnson, Lives of the English Poets, ed. Ernest Rhys (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1928), II, 174.

[93] Warren, p. 149.

[94] Alexander Pope, "Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear'," in Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare, ed. D. Nichol Smith (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 44-68.

> spear was Inspiration indeed; he is not so much an Imitator, as an Instrument of Nature; and 'tis not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks thro' him. (p.44)

Pope retracts an earlier statement made in the Essay on Criticism that "Nature and Homer were, he found, the same" (l.135). Homer is now merely regarded as an Imitator. Nature is the source of inspiration as well, and Shakespeare is her voice. This point carries quite some impact in respect of the comparison Pope makes between Shakespeare's writings and Gothic architecture in the latter part of the Preface. Shakespeare's characters:

> are so much Nature herself, that 'tis a sort of injury to call them by so distant a name as Copies of her. Those of other Poets have a constant resemblance, which shews that they receiv'd them from one another, and were but multiplyers of the same Image.... But every single character in Shakespeare is as much an Individual as those in Life itself; it is as impossible to find any two alike, and such as from their relation or affinity in any respect appear most to be Twins, will upon comparison be found remarkably distant. (p.45)

Pope's deviation from the Augustan literary path as laid down by Dennis cannot be better illustrated than by his praise of Shakespeare's characters. Dennis guides the poet on the advice of Horace, who clearly stated what it is to follow Nature: "not to draw after particular Men, who are but Copies and imperfect Copies of the great Universal Pattern, but to consult that innate Original and the universal Idea." Dennis, upholding Horace as the principal guide for his literary generation, probably hopes to enforce the Augustan analogy, the belief in which Pope had long since lost. Pope refers to Homer and Shakespeare as the proper literary archetypes, both being poets of Nature, reflecting in their literary works the variety of Nature instead of that which is common to mankind.

Further examples of Shakespeare's superiority are his use of the passions and the sentiments, aspects which had a particular appeal for Pope: "But the heart swells, and the tears burst out, just at the places: We are surpriz'd the moment we weep; and yet upon reflection find the passion so just, that we shou'd be surprized if we had not wept, and wept at that very moment." (p. 45)

Pope considers Shakespeare's sentiments to be "perfectly amazing from a man of no education or experience in the great and publick scenes of life," which leads him to the conclusion "That the Philosopher and even the Man of the World may be Born, as well as the Poet.." (p. 46). After expounding Shakespeare's merits, Pope continues with "a candid admission of his faults." Shakespeare's main offence was his disregard of the rules, this being the result of his writing "to please the Populace," who preferred "the most strange, unexpected, and consequently most unnatural, Events and Incidents." (p. 46). Even here Shakespeare's genius is unmistakable: "His Genius in those low parts is like some Prince of Romance in the disguise of a Shepherd or Peasant; a certain Greatness and Spirit now and then break out, which manifest his higher extraction and Qualities." (p. 47).

Pope clearly states how relative is the importance of Aristotle's rules: "To judge therefore of Shakespeare by Aristotle's rules, is like trying a man by the Laws of one Country, who acted under those of another." (p. 47)

The social status of his audience also influenced Shakespeare's writing: "When his performances had merited the protection of his Prince, and when the encouragement of the Court had succeeded to that of the Town, the works of his riper years are manifestly raised above those of his former." (p. 47)

Pope further extenuates Shakespeare's faults as a writer by attributing them to Shakespeare the player. Players have their own criteria and only act by one rule, "that of pleasing the present humour, and complying the wit in fashion." (p. 48). This argument clears Shakespeare the poet in that his faults "are less to be ascribed to his wrong judgment as a Poet, than to his right judgment as a Player." (p. 48)

Further charges against Shakespeare were that he "scarce ever blotted a line" and his "want of learning." The first charge is refuted by Pope, arguing that it is based on "groundless reports". Of the second charge Pope says: "I believe the common opinion of his want of learning proceeded from no better ground." This is followed by a summary of Shakespeare's wide reading from the Ancients to the"modern Italian writers of Novels." Pope is inclined to think that "this opinion proceeded originally from the zeal

of the Partizans of our Author and Ben Jonson; as they endeavoured to exalt the one at the expense of the other." (p. 50). The explanation is followed by a comparison between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Pope concludes this exposé on the two by questioning the animosity Jonson expressed, according to Dryden, in his verses: "I cannot for my own part find any thing Invidious or Sparing in those verses, but wonder Mr. Dryden was of that opinion." (p. 51). Jonson not only raises Shakespeare above all his contemporaries, but above Chaucer and Spenser as well, and Spenser "... expressly vindicates him from the imputation of wanting Art, not enduring that all his excellencies shou'd be attributed to Nature." (p. 51). Not only the controversy Jonson versus Shakespeare, but also the false editing of his works has contributed to the charge of Shakespeare's want of learning. This false editing is discussed in full detail. Pope considers it his task "to do him justice" and explains his method of editing. The most important part of the Preface for this context is towards the end, where Pope draws the comparison between Shakespeare and Gothic architecture:

> I will conclude by saying of Shakespeare, that with all his faults, and with all the irregularity of his Drama, one may look upon his works, in comparison of those that are more finish'd and regular, as upon an ancient majestick piece of Gothick architecture, compar'd with a neat Modern building: the latter is more elegant and daring, but the former is more strong and more solemn. It must be allow'd, that in one of these there are materials enough to make many of the other. It has much the greater variety, and much the nobler apartments: tho' we are often conducted to them by dark, odd, and uncouth passages. Nor does the Whole fail to strike us with greater reverence, tho' many of the Parts are childish, ill-plac'd, and unequal to its grandeur. (p. 58)

Shakespeare's works and Gothic architecture convey a feeling of strength and solemnity, both are characterised by variety and noble parts, and the overall impression is one of grandeur. Pope definitely prefers Shakespeare and Gothic architecture to the more finished, regular, elegant and daring works of his own period. The analogy between Shakespeare and Gothic architecture allows us to draw the following conclusion: since "the poetry of Shakespeare was Inspiration indeed" and Shakespeare himself "an Instrument of Nature," it follows that Gothic architecture is also inspired by Nature.

A similar comparison between literature and architecture is also made by Coleridge, which shows Pope to be closer to Coleridge than to his own contemporaries:

> The Greeks reared a structure, which, in its parts and as a whole, filled the mind with the calm and elevated impression of perfect beauty, and symmetrical proportion. The moderns, blending materials, produced a striking whole. This may be illustrated by comparing the Pantheon with York Minster or Westminster Abbey. Upon the same scale we may compare Sophocles with Shakespeare, in the the one there is a completeness, a satisfying, and excellence, on which the mind can rest, in the other we see a blended multitude of materials, great and little, magnificent and mean, mingled, if we may say so, with a dissatisfying, or falling short of perfection, yet so promising of our progression, that we would not exchange it for that repose of the mind, which dwells on the forms of symmetry in acquiescent admiration of grace.[95]

Pope's defence of Shakespeare, in spite of the latter's defiance of the rules, and his analogy between Shakespeare and Gothic architecture were of enormous importance in the development of Gothic architecture, which is the architectural expression of Romanticism:

> Above all, it was Shakespeare, so unmistakably great in defiance of Aristotle's rules, who broke the back of classical prejudice. If Aristotle's rules could be defied with success, why not those of Vitruvius, too. Gothic architecture crept in through literary analogy.[96]

[95] S.T. Coleridge, 'Shakespearean Criticism' II, 213, as quoted in M. Mainusch, Romantische Ästhetik (Berlin: Verlag Gehlen, 1969), p. 148.

[96] Clark, p. 33.

Conclusion

At the end of the discussion an assessment must be made of Pope's exact literary and architectural contribution towards the development of Gothicism and Romanticism. At the beginning of this paper it was stated that Romantic art is a spontaneous product of Nature. It is bold and it appeals to the observer's and reader's emotions.[1] Romanticism is "characterized by a longing towards the past,"[2] its revolutionary character lies in "its revolt against the present since it yearns for the loveliness of the past."[3] Romanticism is furthermore characterised by a "passionate, unappeased craving for the beautiful."[4] Above all, Romanticism considered Nature to be "strong, fantastic, unexpected, terrible. Like the past, Nature is remote. Indifferent to human preoccupations and disowning human agency. Nature possesses all the more forcibly an imaginative appeal."[5]

It is the intention of the writer to show in how far Pope's literary and architectural works incorporate, adhere to or contribute to the above mentioned aspects of Romanticism.

Books and other works of art on and from the Far East questioned the concept of beauty as upheld by the late seventeenth, early eighteenth century connoisseur. Temple phrased this new concept of beauty: "Beauty shall be great but without any Order or Disposition of the parts."[6] The concept of beauty as transmitted by Chinese art

[1] Samuel W. Stevenson, Romantic Tendencies in the Works of Dryden, Addison and Pope (Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1923), p. 152.

[2] Montagu Summers, The Gothic Quest (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), p. 18.

[3] Summers, p. 18.

[4] Summers, p. 18.

[5] Geoffrey Scott, The Architecture of Humanism (London: Constable & Co., 1914), p. 66.

[6] William Temple, "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus: or, Of Gardening in the Year 1685," in The Genius of the Place, ed. John D. Hunt and Peter Willis (London: Elek Books, 1975), p. 99.

was revolutionary in its apparent disregard for order and symmetry, which were previously thought to be its essential elements (up to the 1750s). The encounter with Chinese art influenced the mode of interior decoration, the layout of gardens and the use of garden ornaments. This art form accustomed the eye to a freer play of line and a more irregular spacing of the masses, which led eventually to the Rococo, an artistic expression described by Clark as "travestied Gothic."[7] It can be said that the Chinese influence had a first impact on the layout of the gardens, whose previous formal, symmetrical layout was abandoned for a more informal, a-symmetrical pattern. Liberty came to be associated with this freer layout. The associative value of the garden was fostered by the use of several garden follies, as for instance at Stowe with its Temple of Liberty, and by Pope, e.g. the obelisk he erected to the memory of his mother. This development led to the genesis of the picturesque garden, which is an early version of the natural landscape garden. The imagination and emotions were still guided in a particular direction in the picturesque garden by its circular pattern and its follies. The emotions were given free play in the natural landscape garden. At the centre of this development stands Pope, who stated the three major principles in gardening to be: contrast, the management of surprises and concealment of the bounds, whereby variety is enclosed in the contrasts.[8] These principles are repeatedly expounded by Pope in Windsor Forest and the Epistle to Burlington. The incorporation of architectural structures in the garden also reflects the conception of the garden in theatrical terms. Pope was one of the first to conceive of the garden in those terms: "Or scoops in circling theatres the Vale." This concept of the garden plays "in der Entwicklung von pittoresker zu romantischer Landschaftsliebe eine besondere Rolle."[9] A piece of garden architecture illustrating this point is Alfred's Hall, built by

[7] Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (London: Redwood Burn, 1974), p. 50.

[8] Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men, ed. James M. Osborn. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1966), I, No. 699.

[9] Gisela Dirschner, Ursprünge der Rheinromantik in England (Frankfurt/Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1972), p. 41.

Pope on Lord Bathurst's estate in Cirencester. It is a thoroughly Romantic essay in garden architecture, placed in natural surroundings where the imagination was allowed to run free. Pope called Alfred's Hall an "enchanted castle, to which one is carried by the force of Imagination."[10] Alfred's Hall is typical of picturesque gardening and a theatrical stage setting, "set in a clearing, surrounded by sinister trees and shrouded with creepers."[11] Alfred's Hall also performed an associative function; it looked back on a past "when corruption was crushed and Liberty guarded."[12] This aspect of liberty is also expressed in the architectural style of the castle itself. It is not built in accordance with strict mathematical rules. Pope made the important and influential statement through Alfred's Hall that Gothic architecture reflected the principle of Liberty and of "unrestrained Nature."

A further example of Pope's garden architecture is the grotto, originally a passage underneath his house at Twickenham. The grotto reflected the aesthetics of the picturesque garden as laid down in the Epistle to Burlington, which in this case were applied to architecture: variety and irregularity were the grotto's main characteristics and its bounds were concealed by the use of crystals attached to the walls and ceiling, which, when illuminated at night, extended the grotto to unknown proportions. The concealment of the boundaries is itself a Romantic tendency, as it reflects the craving for unlimited freedom. The grotto, as well as Alfred's Hall, both appealed to the emotions. Pope intended that the grotto should produce a sense of pleasing melancholy. It was laid out to represent a spontaneous product of Nature. Nature is, as is typical for this early stage of Pre-Romanticism, still guided by human hand. The grotto is Pope's private escape from the narrow Augustan boundaries, the leap to freedom which would reach its culmination towards the end of the century.

[10] George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 476-477.

[11] Terence Davis, The Gothic Taste (London: David and Charles, 1969), p. 25.

[12] Adrian von Buttlar, Der Englische Landsitz: 1715-1760 - Symbol eines liberalen Weltentwurfs (Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1982), p. 160.

Pope is clearly a forerunner of the Romantic movement, in fact he stimulates its development by applying natural criteria to architecture, realising the impact of Nature on the emotions, as is obvious from his letters describing natural scenery. It is also significant that Pope intends the grotto to resemble a "shadowy cave." A cave is the symbol of something mysterious, hidden. The impression the grotto would make on the beholder's mind was enforced by the entrance to the grotto, done in imitation of an old ruin, which "suggested the transitory nature of human accomplishments and emphasized the fact that the paths of glory lead but to the grave."[13] Pope considered the grotto and its entrance to be "a scene for contemplation."[14] The theme of the cave, symbolising something shut off from its surroundings, is repeated in the poem Eloisa to Abelard and in the Elegy. In these poems the reader is confronted either with a dark convent, where daylight is kept out, or with shrines, sepulchres and graves. The grotto differs from the other caves in that daylight is allowed to enter at its inhabitant's bidding. Furthermore, Pope's grotto is not of a frightening, terrifying character, but of a magic one, "Where beams of warm imagination play" (Essay on Criticism, l. 59). Pope's intention to write some Persian fairy tales in imitation of the Arabian Tales he enjoyed so much must have been formed in the grotto. The grotto was Pope's retreat, where his imaginative powers could run free. It also stands for a withdrawal from society, whose pattern of behaviour Pope strongly disapproved of.

Pope's other piece of garden architecture, built near the grotto, is the Shell Temple, a further illustration of his concept of naturalistic architecture. The columns of the temple resemble the trunks of trees, illustrating Pope's awareness of the forest theory of origin of the Gothic style.

Pope's garden architecture is of a Romantic nature, looking back on an idealised past or providing an escape from the present.

[13] Warren H. Smith, Architecture in English Fiction (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1934), p. 19.

[14] Sherburn, IV, 262.

It exhibits Pope's interpretation of Nature, in which variety, surprise and disregard of bounds, or the search for liberty are the determining factors. Pope's continuing reinterpretation of Nature reveals this search for liberty. Nature is still controlled by rules in the Essay on Criticism, although their former all-importance is weakened by Pope's reading of Rapin and Boileau. Nature gains in liberty in Eloisa to Abelard and in the Elegy and reaches total liberalisation in the Preface to 'The Works of Shakespeare'. Shakespeare and Gothic architecture reflect Nature in the absence of any restrictions enforced by rules.

Pope's wealthy contemporaries, however, preferred the Classical mode of building for several reasons. Classical architecture, and more particularly its Palladian counterpart, had a strong appeal for the eighteenth century connoisseur in its symmetrical planning and layout, which not only reflected the order of the universe but also their place in it. Palladian architecture was the best architectural expression of their own social importance. Builders in this particular architectural style belonged mainly to the class of nouveaux riches: lawyers, retired merchants and politicians. A further attraction of Palladian architecture was enforcement of the Augustan analogy. Palladio's architectural designs found their inspiration in Vitruvius, the great architect of Augustus' reign. For Pope this analogy was invalid, as he clearly stated in The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, to Augustus, in which he ridiculed King George, his court and the age. Pope "expands and elaborates Horace's already elaborate structure, almost to the point of overloading, by turning eulogy of Augustus into an ironic attack on George II, which is almost treasonable in its savagery."[15] Pope's view of his own age is expanded in The Dunciad "where George's consummately lethargic dullness in politics, war and culture is both the source and the emblem of England's cultural degeneracy."[16] Pope's reinterpretation of the concept of Nature is related to his pessimistic view

[15] D. Isles, "Pope and Criticism," in Alexander Pope: Writers and their Background, ed. Peter Dixon (London: Bell & Sons, 1972), p. 283.

[16] Dixon, p. 283.

of the development of the arts in his own age. The liberalisation of Nature is related to "Pope's desire to see modern literature developing its potential, with the values of the past firmly, but not exclusively, in mind."[17] Pope considered the reigning vices of contemporary society to be corruption and selfishness. Palladian architecture was corrupted by the wealthy upstarts who put it to their own use without observing the style's innate qualities. Pope appreciated the associations of the Palladian style but warned against the abuse of this style by a class of people whose system of values he abhorred. In addition to these facts, his interpretation of Nature did not lend itself to the Palladian mode of building. This architecture was based on a concept of Nature determined by Reason and expressed in its rigid symmetry and formalism. Pope stated his ideas of proper architecture in the Epistle to Burlington, the main criteria of which were observance of the Genius of the Place and picturesque gardening principles. The application of picturesque gardening principles to Palladian architecture demonstrates that symmetry is inverted Nature. It can therefore be deduced that Palladian architecture itself is inverted Nature, strengthened by the fact that hospitality, a natural social act, could not be properly dispensed in a large Palladian house, as is illustrated by Timon's entertainment. This argumentation gathers strength when one realises that the description of Timon's house is meant to be identified with Walpole's Palladian country seat, Houghton Hall. This place was built by Ripley, although originally designed by Campbell. Ripley is mentioned by name in line 18 and this could have the purpose "to alert the readers to the identity of the portrait."[18]

The Epistle to Burlington contributes to the Pre-Romantic movement by applying picturesque gardening principles to Palladian architecture. This process brought forth a natural architecture, for example Stanton Harcourt, "built before the rules were in fashion." The juxtaposition of Palladian architecture and picturesque

[17] Dixon, p. 284.

[18] Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Alexander Pope (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 123.

gardening principles sowed the seed which brought about the downfall of the former.

Pope's villa at Twickenham was a beautiful essay in the true Palladian style. It was of modest proportions, attention was paid to the Genius of the Place,and it was built to dispense hospitality. Pope did not imitate Palladio, but was inspired by his designs, adapting them to his own needs. Pope's villa was Romantic in the sense that it reflected a past he valued, and the analogy with the Renaissance was upheld by the poet living in retirement. "The essence of the aesthetic of Pope's Twickenham villa is the adaptation of classical and humanistic ideas by a poetic sensibility to picturesque landscape."[19] Pope's villa was purchased in 1807 by the Baroness Howe. This lady, or "the Queen of the Goths" as she came to be called, had the villa demolished and a house built in the Gothic style.[20] The aesthetic qualities advocated by Pope led in the end to the destruction of his own villa.

Pope's description of Stanton Harcourt and Sherborne Castle are important in regard to the development of Romanticism, as they drew public attention to architecture built "before the rules were in fashion." These two large country houses stand for a way of living which is congenial to Pope and which is Romantic in the sense that old traditions are (or were in Stanton Harcourt) respected.

In the four literary works of Pope's discussed here there is clearly a further development of Nature. Certain criteria, related to Nature and stated in the Essay on Criticism, are also further developed in the other three literary works.

Pope states in the Essay that there are certain beauties that cannot be accounted for by precepts. The aim of poetry is to gain the heart; Nature is interpreted as "to follow Homer," its essential characteristics are fire and rapture, the function of which is to move the emotions. Longinus, one of the main literary

[19] Alexander Pope's Villa: Views of Pope's Villa, Grotto and Garden: A Microcosm of English Landscape Greater London Council, 1980, p. 9.

[20] Alexander Pope's Villa, p. 49.

sources of the Essay provides Pope with legitimate arguments to question the Neo-Classical tenets. Longinus placed the emphasis in poetry on passion and intensity, out of which the school of taste developed, giving priority to the beauties rather than the defects. Longinus served as "something of an authority for the defense of the subjective and emotional taste."[21] Pope's concept of the rules was strongly influenced by Rapin and Boileau, who believed in the usefulness of the rules but never supposed them to be all-important. Nature and rules are closely related:

> Those Rules of old discover'd, not devis'd,
> And Nature still, but Nature methodiz'd;
> Nature, like Liberty, is but restrain'd
> By the same Laws which first herself ordain'd.(ll.88-92)

and

> Learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem;
> To copy nature is to copy them. (l. 139, 140)

Pope liberates Nature from its narrow Classical boundaries, but not entirely. The process of liberalising Nature is begun in the Essay and reaches its culmination in the Preface.

Pope's use of wit is the same as that of Coleridge, in both cases it has the meaning of "range of imaginative power and bright social criticism."[22]

In Eloisa to Abelard and in the Elegy the theme of liberty is developed further. The characters of the poems, Eloisa, Abelard and the Unfortunate Lady move outside the boundaries of society in search of the ultimate freedom which enables them to give full expression to their emotions. Their banishment from society, either to a convent or abroad is Pope's earnest warning that this kind of ultimate freedom is not accepted by society. In these two poems Pope proves himself to be a true poet according to the criteria set down in the Epistle to Augustus:

[21] W. J. Bate, From Classic to Romantic (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1964), p. 46.

[22] W. Empson, "Wit in the Essay on Criticism," in Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack (Hamden, Archon Books, 1964), p. 201.

> Let me for once presume t' instruct the times,
> To know the Poet from the Man of rhymes:
> 'Tis he, who gives my breast a thousand pains,
> Can make me feel each Passion that he feigns;
> Inrage, compose, with more than magic Art,
> With Pity, and with Terror, tear my heart; (ll. 340-345)

Further contributions towards the development of Romanticism are Pope's personal involvement with the poems - through the characters he gives voice to his private emotions - their Gothic "machinery" and the use of the pathetic and the sublime. Burke's definition of the sublime and the way to achieve it comes very near to Pope's. Burke said:

> Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime, that is, it is productive of the strongest emotions which the mind is capable of feeling.[23]

Nature in Eloisa to Abelard and in the Elegy is the extension of Nature in the Essay, clarified in the lines: "When love is liberty, and nature, law." This is in fact the key sentence of both poems: love is equated with liberty and with Nature. The free expression of love breaking all human barriers is the universal law. In Eloisa to Abelard this love is still limited to two people and is of a highly sexual nature. In the Elegy, where it has transcended the sexual and the love of one embraces all, this love of all involves social conscience. Human egotism makes this all-embracing love a futile effort and this is demonstrated in the banishment and death of the Unfortunate Lady. The impact of the sex drive is a theme expanded in the later Gothic novels, e.g. The Monk by Lewis. There does exist, however, a difference in the origin of sexual passion. Pope bases it on the love of Eloisa and Abelard. Their sexual passion is the natural outcome and the consummation of this love. In The Monk the driving force is lust.

[23] Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful (London: R. & J. Doebley, 1759), p. 58.

Death, as dealt with in these two poems, is also closely related to the concept of Nature. Death is the end of all suffering and the leap towards boundless freedom, found in the union of the soul with the universe or its divine source.

The Preface to 'The Works of Shakespear' is of great importance to our subject, because the concept of Nature here reaches its full development. Homer's place as a poet of Nature is taken over by Shakespeare, whose poetry was "Inspiration indeed" and who does not speak from Nature, but Nature through him. Shakespeare, the poet of Nature, consequently had little use for rules. The disregard of rules reaches its climax towards the end of the Preface where Pope draws a comparison between Shakespeare and Gothic architecture and places both above Classical art. Pope continues the process of naturalising the Gothic. Pope's comparison is repeated by Coleridge with the same conclusion. The great 'Augustan' and the great Romanticist are of the same opinion in regard to Nature and Gothic architecture; like Shakespeare it is a true reflection of Nature. Pope's statements on the Gothic encouraged a development which led to the Neo-Gothic style of building. We do not know whether Pope would have appreciated some of the architectural expressions of Romanticism. The motivation to build in this particular style was stimulated either by the desire to revolt against the Classical mode of building or by the wish to be fashionable and to impress. Pope's social reasons for his preference of the Gothic were not the future builders' motivation. Pope's observation on the false application of the Palladian style was still valid towards the end of the eighteenth and in the better part of the nineteenth century: again half the land was filled with the work of those "Imitating-Fools."

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